

L I F E
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

VOL. I.

G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.



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THE
LIFE
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.
EDITED BY HIS NIECE,
F. D. CARTWRIGHT.

“ He was one whose enlightened mind and profound constitutional knowledge placed him in the highest rank of public character, and whose purity of principle and consistency of conduct through life commanded the most respectful attention to his opinions.”

FOX, IN A SPEECH ON PRESENTING MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S PETITION
IN 1795.

“ Nihil aequè . . . Libertatem hausit: Civis, Senator, Maritus, Genitor, Amicus,
cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus
metus.”

TACIT. HIST.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON-STREET.

1826.

TO HER

WHOM THE SUBJECT OF THESE MEMOIRS ALWAYS JUSTLY ACCOUNTED

“ HIS DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND”,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

- Page 59, line 4, for 'Sharpe' read 'Sharp'.
134, last line, for 'Fitzpatric' read 'Fitzpatrick'.
343, line 10, and elsewhere, for 'Paul' read 'Paul'

VOL. II.

- Page 48, line 8, for 'Grays' read 'Greys'.
166, line 13, for 'Semphill' read 'Sempill'.
247, note, for 'Senhor' read 'Señor'.

INTRODUCTION.

THE compiler of this work cannot plead the hackneyed excuse that she has been persuaded to the undertaking solely by the pressing solicitations of her friends. From the moment in which the object of her veneration was snatched from his family, it seemed ~~that~~ to dedicate her pen to his memory was the only alleviation so great a loss admitted; and a variety of motives which afterwards suggested themselves to her mind, convinced her, that, in so doing, she was likewise fulfilling a necessary and almost unavoidable duty.

This resolution was not, however, unattended with reluctance and apprehension; reluctance arising from the dislike of publicity, and apprehension lest the task should be executed in a manner unworthy of its object.

It will therefore be easily imagined with what feelings of heart-felt gratification she received from

the relations and intimate friends of her deceased uncle a confirmation of her own opinion, attended with every encouragement which kindness could suggest.

A work originating neither in motives of personal interest nor of literary ambition, may surely hope to disarm the severity of criticism, and to claim the support of a liberal public. Many errors in its composition will doubtless be discovered; but wilful misrepresentation cannot justly be attributed to its writer. A strict adherence to, and a diligent search after, TRUTH, were the leading principles of Major Cartwright's mind; and in her anxiety to follow, in this particular, his venerated example, consists the only merit of his biographer.

In the progress of the work one difficulty has occurred; that of adhering implicitly to the injunction of Major Cartwright himself, who, in a paper found after his decease, expressed a wish, that should any biographical sketch of him be attempted, "he should not be the subject of frivolous details, but that little should be said, except on subjects of political interest." To comply with this wish in its strictest sense, was the writer's

first impulse; but subsequent reflection has induced her to think that whatever tends to illustrate his character, in private as well as public, cannot justly be considered frivolous, and that in suppressing all private letters or anecdotes, she would be doing an injustice to that very cause which was so near his heart.

Still, however, she has endeavoured to keep his injunction in mind, and has therefore suppressed much, which, as relating to himself, *he* might have thought frivolous, but which many other persons might have considered both interesting and instructive.

It remains only to be observed, that in two or three of the letters a few passages have been omitted, in order to prevent unnecessary repetition.

FRANCES DOROTHY CARTWRIGHT.

LIST OF PLATES.

VOL. I.

PORTRAIT to face the Title-Page.

CHART of the Country about Lieutenant's Lake, Page 33.

VOL. II.

DESIGN for a **MONUMENT** to the memory of Major Cartwright, to face
Title-Page.

PLAN of **NAVAL SURVEYING**, Appendix, Page 335.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT* was born on the 17th of September (old style), 1740, at Marnham in Nottinghamshire.

It is not intended to enter into any details respecting the well-known antiquity of his family; it is only necessary to state that, like many other families which suffered by their exertions in the cause of Charles the First, its possessions had diminished to a small portion of their original extent.

Major Cartwright's father married, in 1731, his

* Though the subject of these memoirs was never styled Major in his own family subsequently to the loss of his rank in the militia, yet as it was the appellation most commonly given him by the public, it has been thought advisable to retain it through these pages.

cousin Anne Cartwright, daughter of George Cartwright, of Ossington*, in Nottinghamshire, and had by her five sons and five daughters. The names of his sons are as follow: William, who obtained, through family interest, a place in the Treasury, and died before his father. George, who is well known as the author of a *Journal of Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador*. He served during the German war, as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby, and was a man of great strength of mind, as well as personal courage. John, the subject of this Memoir. Edmund, celebrated as an elegant poet and useful mechanician (particularly in the invention of the power-loom); and Charles, who, at an early period of life, when a lieutenant

* The following note, attached to the pedigree of the family, affords some curious particulars respecting the manner in which the abbey of Ossington came into their possession. "Hee [Edmund Cartwright] was a scholar and Master of Artes of Jesus College, Cambridge, where hee was intimately acquainted with his countryman and fellow student, Thomas Cranmer, son of Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, whose only daughter Cartwright married: which Cranmer, becoming afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, tooke his brother Cartwright and sister into his house, and, at the dissolution of the abbeyes, provided for him the abbey of Mauling in Kent, Rowney in Bedfordshire, and Ossington in Nottinghamshire, which are at this day worth three thousand a-year, and married his heir, Hugh, to one of the Lord Cobham's daughters."—It is lamentable to observe that so great a man as Archbishop Cranmer should have made the spiritual reforms he laboured to establish subservient to the temporal interests of his own connections.

on board the *Argo*, distinguished himself in taking the Dutch fort of Commenda, on the coast of Africa; for which he received the thanks of the African Company*.

Mr. Cartwright, Sen. possessed very considerable talent and energy of character, which were manifested on many occasions connected with the affairs of the county in which he resided. He effected the abolition of the practice of giving vails to servants, which had become an intolerable abuse. The Duke of Norfolk proposed this step at a county meeting, and Mr. Cartwright was the first person who put it into execution, though it was expected that the attempt would be attended with very unpleasant consequences.

To his exertions, the public are indebted for the execution of that noble work at Muskham near Newark, where the road for more than a mile is preserved from the effects of flood, by being carried over thirteen well-constructed brick arches.

Though the expense was only computed at 8000*l.*, yet so great was the unwillingness manifested in those days for executing such public improvements as would now be adopted without hesitation or difficulty, that it was thirty years before Mr. Cartwright could obtain the concurrence of the persons most interested in the work. This gentleman's

* Though only a lieutenant, and the fifth son of a man of moderate fortune, he refused to take his share of the prize-money, amounting to about a thousand pounds, and insisted on distributing it among the sailors who served under him.

opposition to levies being made on the county, which were resorted to instead of raising a constitutional militia, was the first occasion of the Nottinghamshire militia having been embodied.

Major Cartwright once jocularly observed of his father, that "he had a genius for encountering difficulties"; perhaps it may be thought that some of his sons, in particular the subject of these memoirs, inherited the same propensity in no common degree.

At five years of age, John Cartwright was sent to a grammar school at Newark, and afterwards to Heath Academy, in Yorkshire. It appears that very little attention was paid at either of these seminaries to the improvement of the pupils, for to the latest period of his existence he bitterly lamented the deficiency* of his early education, which, except a very slight knowledge of Latin, left him unacquainted with any language but his own. This circumstance cannot be attributed to himself, for he manifested through life a remarkable thirst for knowledge, and in many particulars he made up by self instruction, for the neglect and inattention of his early preceptors.

In mechanics and practical mathematics, his

* This deficiency he lamented to his friend Mr. Northmore, and often applied to him and Mr. Holt White, for solutions of any difficulties in the learned languages. To the latter gentleman the writer is indebted for the appropriate motto from Tacitus in the title page of this work.

brother Dr. Cartwright* often found him a useful associate, and it was delightful to observe with what animation these two brothers entered into each other's feelings and pursuits.

When an ingenious thought suggested itself to the fertile mind of the inventor, it was almost invariably communicated to the Major, whose pride and satisfaction on the occasion were greater than his own.

To those who delight in tracing to early impressions, the subsequent bias of the mind, it may not be uninteresting to observe, that great part of Major Cartwright's childhood and his vacations from school, were spent under the roof of John Viscount Tyrconnel, who had married his father's eldest sister. This nobleman was a whig of the old school, and his god-son used to relate many amusing anecdotes of his political zeal: among others, that when divine service was performing in the chapel at Belton, the old lord was observed to be greatly agitated during the reading of the prayer for the parliament, stirring the fire violently, and muttering impatiently to himself, "Nothing but a miracle can mend them."

Though rather an eccentric character, Lord Tyrconnel was a man of learning, integrity and

* The mechanical inventions of this ingenious man need not be enumerated, but it is impossible to pass over in silence those qualities which from his retired mode of life are less known to the public: his philanthropy, his liberality, and, above all, that singular absence of jealousy of rival inventors, which was so conspicuous a feature in his character.

benevolence. The aspersions thrown upon him by Savage are wholly unfounded; and it is to be regretted that Dr. Johnson should have given any credit to the assertions of one whose uniform practice of slandering his benefactors ought to have invalidated his testimony.

The remarkable gentleness of Major Cartwright's disposition, which was the more striking from being united with so much activity and courage, necessarily excited in all who were connected with him, sentiments of the fondest attachment, and it may be added that these sentiments were more deeply felt as their object advanced in life*.

It is not therefore surprising that, on leaving Heath School, it should be the earnest wish of his parents, as well as of his aunt, Lady Tyrconnel, who, after her husband's death, resided in her brother's family, and was greatly attached to his children, to retain him at Marnham†, in order that

* His grandfather, on the father's side, resided at Marnham during his infancy. He had been brought up to the bar, was a man of great legal knowledge, and though he never practised was much consulted by his friends and neighbours. His character is said to have greatly resembled that of his grandson John, for whom his fondness was very remarkable. In the latter part of his life, when dozing in his chair from age and infirmity, he would frequently wake, and stretching out his hand to pat his head, enquire if that "brave lad Jack" were there?

† When Major Cartwright was about six or seven years of age, an old gentleman of large fortune in the neighbourhood, who had no family of his own, was very desirous of adopting him, telling his father that as he had four other sons, he might spare him that fine whiteheaded little fellow to bring up as his heir. Mr. Cart-

he might be trained to agricultural pursuits and assist in the management of the family estate.

But under a calm and contemplative exterior, a desire for more active employment was springing up in the mind of the youth, and as Europe was at that time filled with the glory of the great Frederick, who was raising to the rank of an independent nation, an insignificant province of the German Empire, he was seized with an ardent desire to join as a volunteer the army of that extraordinary sovereign. Leaving his father's house in a moment of boyish enthusiasm, he proceeded with this intention as far as Stamford, but was easily persuaded to return when informed by the steward who had pursued him, of the distress and alarm which a step so rash and inconsiderate had occasioned to his family. His wish to embrace an active profession was then complied with, and he soon after entered the naval service of his own country. This circumstance would hardly have been thought worthy of mention, if it had not already appeared before the public in an incorrect manner, particularly in a foreign work entitled "*Dictionnaire des Contemporains*," where it is positively asserted that he served some years in

wright replied, that though he was much obliged by the kind wish of his neighbour, yet he could never consent to see his child in any other hands than his own. "I have never ceased to thank my father", said Major Cartwright, "for this determination, which probably saved me from being brought up as a mere fox-hunting squire of fortune."

the army of the King of Prussia. The particulars already related are well known in the family, but the writer never recollects to have heard them mentioned by himself. He was indeed so little of an egotist that he could seldom be induced, without absolute necessity, to speak of his own feelings, but it is probable that he secretly rejoiced that he was prevented from joining the army of a military despot.

A mind so uprightly constituted must ere long have revolted at being the instrument of oppression and injustice, and the next step after symptoms of such disinclination would have probably led him into the dungeons of Spandau or of Magdeburgh.

In a letter dated the 19th July, 1758, addressed to his mother, he thanks his parents for their kindness in permitting him to enter so honorable a profession, and trusts that his conduct in it will make them amends for the uneasiness his former folly had occasioned.

A few days after he joined the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Walter Stirling, which ship was employed in the vicinity of Cherbourg, and about a month after he had been at sea he writes, "I have just time to tell you that on Friday we took a French frigate of twenty-two guns; she is a new ship and came out of Brest ten days ago, with several gentlemen on board, by way of reconnoitering our fleet. The captain will probably give the command of her to our first lieutenant, Mr. Chads,

and as he is unexceptionable as to character, a good seaman and brave fellow, I shall do all I can to get my brother Charles on board him.

“ We left the bay of Cherbourg Friday morning, and anchored here in Portland Road, but expect to go to France, as there are transports taking in light-horse to join us.”

“ TO WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ 1st September, 1758.

“ HONOURED SIR,

“ We left Portland Road yesterday morning, but were obliged at night to put about, and are now about seven or eight leagues from land, and expect to be at Dartmouth to night. We almost give up the hopes of another landing in France this season, as the weather grows rough, and it would be attended with loss of the transports; last night five or six of them were missing.

“ I am told the commodore is to have a command against Pondicherry: I wish it was true, for there would then be a fine chance for commissions.”

“ Monday [1759].

“ Yesterday morning we got sight of Cape Frehel, and anchored in such a place that with it and St. Malo we nearly formed a triangle.

“ Before day-break we sent pilots to sound in shore, and when the day dawned all the flat boats were manned. They had soon their complement of soldiers, and were joined by cutters and long

boats, and all others that could be spared, almost to sinking with men. When the commodore made the signal they all put off and rowed away in fine spirits. The commodore and Prince Edward went into the Pallas Frigate, to go close in shore and cover the landing at Cherbourg."*

The young sailor was present at the taking of Cherbourg and the destruction of its naval basin, and it was on this occasion he used humourously to relate, that he obtained the first and only plunder that ever came to his share, in the shape of a large melon, which he gathered from a gentleman's garden at Cherbourg.

In 1759 he joined the *Magnanime*, Lord Howe commander, and experienced from that nobleman a degree of kindness and attention which was never effaced from his grateful remembrance. He always spoke of him as one of the best and greatest of men, and even to the latest period of his life could not mention his old commander without being visibly affected by the recollection of his noble qualities.

On his arrival on board the *Magnanime* he thus writes to his mother :

" 7th March.

" HONOURED MADAM,

" I got to Portsmouth on Monday, and waited on Lord Howe yesterday; the ship is ready to

* Afterwards Duke of York, and brother to his late Majesty George III.

go to Spithead, having got most of her stores, and will have her guns on board to-morrow.

“When I was with Lord Howe, he asked me if I had been at court whilst in town, to which I replied in the negative: he told me I ought to have gone, and that if he had been in London, *I should have gone.*

“His lordship intends that Sir Harry Heron, Noel*, Valiant, and myself, should be in a mess together with the gunner, who is to have the arrangement of our domestic affairs. We are to put in twenty pounds each for a stock, which will afford us to live very well.

“We think ourselves under great obligation to his lordship for considering us. I cannot say more at present than love and duty to every one from

“Your most affectionate son,

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“July 10.—Off Ushant.

“We expect to keep this Ushant in sight till the end of September, and have little hopes of seeing Monsieur Conflans come out. This is the most insipid work possible, but it is not without its advantages to me, for I have more time to perfect myself in mathematics, and am going to learn the principles of ship building with our school-master, who is by profession a shipwright.

“By Lord Howe’s directions some of us are also learning the exercise of the firelock, and when I

* Afterwards Lord Gainsborough.

have no duty to perform, naval history and my pencil find me pastime. I don't know, however, when I have had more duty on my hands; having lately changed my quarters, I command four guns on the lower deck, and about thirty men.

• “I have had through the kindness of Lord Howe, a second introduction to Prince Edward, which his lordship thinks may be advantageous to me, as we flatter ourselves with the hopes of his Highness's coming on board the *Magnanime* next summer.

“I hope you will soon hear of the taking of Quebec. I shall then know what to think of the condition of our enemies. I shall, however, be sorry to hear of a peace.

“I forgot to tell you that when we were at Torbay, Lord Howe was pleased to be very merry and smart with Lord Gainsborough and myself, respecting our visits to the Grove. He told Lord Gainsborough he would endeavour to prevent any boats going ashore at the Grove, to disturb him in his gallantry to Miss ———, and that he would lend him a boat at any time, but that he could not in honour refuse the same privilege to Mr. Cartwright, as he was a fair rival: his Lordship added a great deal more, and can be as humourous as any body when he pleases, but that is as often as you will catch my father dressing for a ball*.

* Lord Howe was habitually taciturn, with a grave and solemn expression of countenance. The sailors gave him the nickname of “Black Dick”; and Major Cartwright used to relate,

“ My duty waits on Lady Tyrconnel, and all the polished corners of the Temple.”

On the 20th of November in this year (1759), took place the celebrated sea-fight between Sir Edward Hawke and Comflans, at which the young sailor was present. Though of the twenty-six men under his command, thirteen were killed by his side, he escaped with only a slight scratch from a splinter, which grazed the side of his face.

So close was the fight, that in ranging alongside the Hero, the cat-head of the Magnanime was carried away, and the anchor suspended to it was snapt asunder.

After having struck her colours to the Magnanime, the Hero escaped during the night into a French harbour. This unwarrantable conduct obliged Lord Howe to make a representation in person to the Duke d'Aguilon, who commanded on the French coast, and the crew of the Hero were in consequence considered as prisoners of war, and as such were accounted for in an exchange of prisoners, which afterwards took place.

Lord Howe being selected to make an attack on that part of the French fleet which escaped into the river Vilaine, only one lieutenant and two midshipmen were chosen by his Lordship to accompany him, of whom Mr. Cartwright was one, a

that it was a saying amongst them, “ We are going to have some fun in the fighting way, for Black Dick has a smile on his face.”

circumstance which gave him extreme satisfaction, as will be seen in a letter addressed a few days after the engagement, to his aunt Lady Tyrconnel. Though written in the intervals of active duty, by an inexperienced youth, this letter may be almost considered at this day as a literary curiosity, and cannot fail to interest the nautical reader, who will be struck with a resemblance between the manœuvre projected by Lord Howe, and that which Nelson so happily executed at the battle of Trafalgar*.

"Magnanime at anchor in Abraham's Park,

" 23d November, 1759.

" HONOURED MADAM,

" It is with the greatest satisfaction that I acquaint your Ladyship, I have at last had a part in an engagement, in which, though we were successful, I think we can claim no honour; for we were considerably stronger than the enemy, both in the number of our ships and in the bravery of our men; and though it is esteemed ill policy to despise an enemy, I own I cannot help it. I will not try your patience any longer, but proceed to relate our transactions since we left Torbay on the 14th instant. The Admiral made sail that evening for his station, but could not gain it so soon as

* For a farther account of this action, and of Admiral Hawke's gallant reply to the master of his ship, who remonstrated with him on the danger he ran by being laid alongside the French admiral, the reader is referred to Dodsley's Annual Register for the year 1759.

he proposed, the wind dying away; and about the time he arrived off Brest he received intelligence of the French fleet, which put to sea on Thursday morning, and were steering for Quiberon Bay to attack our small fleet there, but the captain of the *Juno* who had sent this intelligence, had at the same time despatched the *Swallow* to inform Mr. Duff, who commanded in Quiberon. On Saturday afternoon the Admiral sent a letter to inform all the ships in the fleet of the news, and to desire they would prepare for action; which was effectually done on board the *Magnanime*.

“I must not begin the engagement till I have explained our particular situation in it; for while we were the first ship, Lord Howe proposed to run down the whole fleet, saluting each ship as he passed with his broadside, till he could come up with the Admiral. For a considerable time we had great hopes of being the leading ship; and in every face there was an appearance of the greatest joy, which was not in the least abated until wayward fortune or some envious demon interrupted this noble plan by some secret spell which abated the *Mag's* swiftness, and the *Warspight*, *Dorsetshire*, *Torbay*, *Defiance* and *Resolution* out-sailed us. Notwithstanding this disappointment, however, the seamen were in great spirits: indeed it is impossible for fancy to point out a scene so noble as that of two fleets of men-of-war beginning to engage.

“The *Resolution* was the third ship in the skir-

mish, and behaved gallantly; so did old Baird* of the *Defiance*, who engaged a seventy-four in an old thirty-gun ship. We entertained ourselves with viewing the many broadsides which were exchanged, till we were near enough to engage ourselves, when our attention was pretty well taken up; for we had an admiral and two large ships upon us. We should soon have struck the Admiral's flag, had it not been for a most melancholy accident, which was, the *Montague* and *Warspight* falling on board of us, they being at the same time foul of each other; that when the three ships were thumping one another, I expected little less than diving for French cockles. We could not prevent this; for the loss of our fore-yard rendered the ship very difficult to manage: however, we were lucky enough to get clear, after a few mi-

* After the engagement was over, Sir Edward Hawke sent round to all the captains of the fleet to enquire how they had fared during the action. Captain Patrick Baird having had a finger shot off, returned the following brief message: "My compliments to the Admiral, and tell him I have only lost a *tobacco-stopper*." Being examined as an evidence on a court-martial, respecting the practicability of throwing succours into Gibraltar, he was asked if he should have thought it his duty at all hazards to follow his instructions? "If an admiral", said he, "were ordered to throw succours into hell, in my opinion he ought to attempt it; and the Old *Defiance* should be at his service to lead the van." This singular old gentleman had received his education among the Jesuits; and it was supposed that he was appointed to accompany Lord Anson, on account of his knowledge of the coasts of Chili, where he had resided for many years in the habit of a priest.

notes, though not without considerable damage on all parts.* We had now almost despaired of having any further share in the action; and some say Lord Howe shed tears; but it is certain that he wrung his hands, and said, ‘We have lost the honour of the day.’—I can scarce conceive how he bore it so well, to have his laurels torn from him in so disgraceful a manner, and the Admiral’s ship snatched from him in the heat of the action: not to mention his noble plan of running through the whole fleet and attacking Conflans himself, being entirely defeated. His Lordship, however, spied a ship to leeward, and, pointing to her, told the people she should be theirs: we made more sail presently, and bore away for her, intending to rake her; but being disappointed in that, we came close under her quarter, and shot up along-side, where we poured in our broadside, after receiving hers. This sickened her so much, that she struck before we could fire above half our next; and well it might; for, without assuming the privileges of a traveller, I can assure you, that some of our guns touched her very sides, when they were fired; and Captain Lochart, of the Chatham, who was a-stern, said he saw our shot pierce both sides, and then drop into the water. The boarders were called out, and just got upon our gun-whale, when she steered from us, we sheering the opposite way, that we did not then take possession of her; which has proved unlucky, for we were obliged to come to an anchor; and it blowing very fresh, and the night pretty far

advanced, we could not send a boat aboard of her, and she then came to an anchor, not far from us, for fear of running ashore. We had scarce parted with her, before we saw seven or eight Frenchmen run close by us; but they altered their course upon sight of us, and did not fire a gun, when they might every one have raked us, as we lay at anchor and were disabled. In the morning we saw the honorable Monsieurs that struck to us, with another that struck to the Royal George, walking off under an easy sail; but as they were going directly upon the rocks, we did not choose to follow. The Royal George sunk one, the Torbay another, and the Resolution took the Admiral's ship that we first engaged; but we had killed the Admiral and almost every officer, with a vast number of his men. The two ships that struck, and afterwards ran aground, were yesterday burnt by our boats; and I hear were the Soleil Royal and the Robuste: the latter was our's, though some say she is L'Orient, of eighty-seven guns. We have been unfortunate in the loss of the Resolution, who ran ashore the night we engaged, and my old ship, the Essex, who went to her relief in the morning. We have saved most of their men, but the two ships are beating to pieces, and I suppose we shall burn them before we go, as we have already done the two Frenchmen who ran upon the rocks. All Wednesday we lay repairing our shattered masts and rigging; and as it blew very fresh, we had not the least communication with the fleet, who

were at an anchor above a mile a-head : but yesterday morning Lord Howe went on board the Admiral, where he was received with the utmost joy, and heartily thanked for his service. • While he was in the boat he cautioned the people to say nothing of our engagement, but to hear first what was said of it : and when they got alongside of the Royal George, they were asked if that was not the Magnanime's boat ; and upon their answering in the affirmative, were told that every ship would have been taken, if our whole fleet had behaved as they did. And when my friend Dalrymple (who is on board the Admiral) saw them, he gave a bottle of brandy in the boat, and made much of them : and now they pass among their brother tars by the appellation of the fighting Mags.

“ Sir Edward Hawke himself ran into the midst of their fleet, and had seven ships upon him, firing both his broadsides at once, which made the Royal George appear very terrible to these sons of *soupe maigre*, who thought of nothing but flight. I find there were nineteen of them, and that seven escaped entirely, and are gone to Rochfort, and that those seven who passed us just after the engagement have retired behind an island in sight, which, with the five that are taken and destroyed, make up the number. We have completed our jury masts and yards this morning, and are now under sail to join the Admiral, and we are in some hopes of being the leading ship to attack the seven I last men-

tioned. We had fifteen killed and about seventy wounded; amongst the former was our second-lieutenant, Mr. Price, and the young fellow I mentioned to my father, who lived near Gainsborough; his name was Hall. Mr. Price was standing by one of my guns when the shot hit him: it was a 48-pounder, and wounded thirteen men out of twenty-six that I commanded. If we had fallen in with these fellows about thirty leagues to the westward, I believe not above one or two would have gone home to tell the tale, and we could then have pursued without fear of rocks and shoals, with which we are now surrounded. In the bottom of the bay, called Abraham's Park, lies Crosac, a town seemingly of some consequence, by two large churches we can see.

“ I have been keeping my watch upon deck, and from what I can now learn, we are not in any likelihood to destroy these remaining Frenchmen, for they have hoven all their guns and stores overboard; and when they were as light as possible, hauled up into creeks and corners, where it is impossible to come at them. I saw a flag of truce go from the Admiral to the shore just now, but upon what occasion I am at a loss to guess. I don't see any thing that should keep us here any longer, unless I am deceived with regard to the ships, that I imagine we shall sail for England to-morrow. We shall be in dock a good while, for we shall take much repairing.

“ Saturday Morning.

“ We are going to attempt these ships that are up the creeks, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that at my request his Lordship has given me leave to go in the boat with him. He and our young lieutenant were going, and as I was the first that asked, I obtained leave, which at first was almost denied me. We go armed with a brace of pistols and a cutlass, and his Lordship is already gone aboard the Admiral, where I am to follow as soon as his Secretary has finished some papers which I am to take.

“ Give me leave to trouble you with duty, love, and compliments, &c. and to subscribe myself

“ Your Ladyship’s

“ Obedient Servant and dutiful Nephew,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ P. S. I wish it were in my power to convey an idea of Lord Howe, but I cannot express it: he is all in all.”*

“ Monday, 26th Nov.

“ I could have sent this by the Vengeance, on Saturday, but flattered myself I should have ac-

* Of Lord Howe’s constant attention to the good of the Service, Major Cartwright used to give the following instance:—During an action (the writer believes it was that mentioned above) Lord Howe remarked a small vessel, with two large spars attached to her, which was nevertheless very ably manœuvred: as soon as the action was over, he sent to the Admiral to enquire by whom she was commanded, and finding it was a young officer of the name of Hammond, requested that he might have him as first-lieutenant on board his own ship. This gentleman is now Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Comptroller of the Navy.

quainted you with the destruction of the ships in the river, but now I believe the enterprise is given up. I was vastly disappointed, as those opportunities seldom present themselves; and I was told that Hawke said he would introduce to the Admiralty every gentleman that went upon that service, as it was likely to be pretty warm. My friend Dalrymple is made acting lieutenant on board the Coventry, and I hope will soon be confirmed."

" TO W. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" 2d of May, 1760.

" Capt. Hughes is expected to command our ship during the absence of Lord Howe, who is going again to Bath for his health. We are convoy to the outward-bound Indiamen, and I hope we shall have a cruise before we join Boscawen. Without a Spanish war, I despair of any thing more being done this war. As we are going on a very insipid service, where no experience can be gained, I should like, if it were possible, to employ this summer in the Nottinghamshire light horse, as nothing could be more agreeable than a campaign in Germany. On board an Indiaman the other day, I bought three pair of bottle-stands, of which I shall beg your acceptance. I could not meet with either china or tea, which I thought would suit my mother's taste, otherwise I should not have forgotten her."

" 4th August, 1760.

" We are very impatient for Lord Howe's return for several reasons, as it would get us a cruise, or

else his Lordship would find us employment where we are, either of which would be preferable to our present inactive situation.

“ I wish much to know what politicians in England say to the behaviour of the Dutch in India : I think it would be the greatest reflection on the nation, if money, or any lucrative satisfaction, should be accepted. Their barbarous massacre of our countrymen at Amboyna, and their shocking cruelties to the Chinese in Batavia, are yet unavenged. I could write a folio on this theme, but as it heats my brain, it would be an incoherent one.

“ Pray thank my dear friends at Marnham for their letters, which are far more acceptable than fresh beef or sweet water, and I really believe them better anti-scorbutics ; for good spirits are preservatives from illness.

“ I hope to fill your parlour with some scraps of pencilling, with which I have amused my leisure hours.

“ 8th August.

“ P. S.—We have at last got our own man, and I am glad to see him looking so well. He came on board in the forenoon, and has already begun to set every thing in order. I now find we are going off the Vilaine again, and I feel well assured it will not be so tiresome as it has been.

“ Lord Howe has brought a young Dutch officer with him. Last night would give him but a mean idea of our service, to see us acting plays upon an enemy's coast ; I heartily wish he may never see any more of it.

“ The Namurs have challenged the Mags to play a set at cricket upon a little island ; and I hope we may have an opportunity to beat them.

“ Torbay, 22d February, [1761.]

“ On Tuesday last I spent the day in a most agreeable manner at Mr. Yords, the beauty of whose grounds can hardly be surpassed. The rural appearance of the adjacent country, with villages and churches placed to the utmost advantage ; the capacious bay, with the awful rocks and cliffs along the coast, the shipping, the sea, and the naked weather-beaten hills, all conspire to render the views delightful. I walk about as much as possible, and enjoy the smell of the fresh green. Next to the sight of a mistress or a friend after a long absence, the richness, perfume, lively verdure, and pleasing variety of the country, are to the drooping soul of a sea-worn sailor, sources of the highest enjoyment.

“ Mag, 7th August.—At Sea.

“ We have now been six hours in chase of a ship, which we hope to find a Frenchman ; and, as we have been clear for action, and I am not wanted on deck, I find myself at liberty to address a few lines to my dearest mother. We were hurried out of port, to cruise for some ships laden with the commodities of the merchants at Martinico, and if we are so lucky as to fall in with them, shall no doubt find them an easy prey. The ship we are in chase of looks like a privateer.

“ 26th October.

“ We were greatly alarmed last week by news of the late changes at court. We are informed that Mr. Pitt has resigned, and accepted 3000*l.* per annum for his life, and we begin to talk of giving up to France, thus relinquishing all the bones of contention, and so forth.

“ Though I have often purposed to leave these political reflections, I find it a harder task than I imagined. All the arguments I can invent to support my own wise opinions have as little effect against state intrigues, as would be an old woman's attempt to silence thunder. I fancy the *Mag-nanime* cannot stay at sea above six weeks longer, for we now have seven feet of water to pump out of her at every watch; however the leak is a lucky circumstance, as the fresh water keeps the hold sweet, and pumping is a healthy exercise.

“ The joy I felt at George's coming over, diverted my attention from the cause of his leaving Germany; if he expects to be all the winter in getting cured, his wound must be much worse than I had imagined.

“ A letter from my father, packed up with my good mother's kind present, gave me immense pleasure, as it contained the recital of an affair so honourable to our aid-de-camp. Our dear Charles's manner of acting is also quite like himself; but if he has missed the opportunity of being with a commander-in-chief, he has been fortunate in choosing a good captain. O'Brien bears an excellent character.”

It was during his service on board the *Magnanime*, that Mr. Cartwright turned his attention to the improvement of the exercise of the great guns on board ship, and these improvements are given by his friend Falconer in his marine dictionary, under the article "Exercise."

While under the command of Lord Howe, he fearlessly leapt from the deck of a 74-gun ship, in order to save the life of a brother officer; a circumstance which mere accident brought to the knowledge of his family; and it may be worth relating in this place, that about thirty years afterwards when walking with his wife and niece at Enfield, he plunged into the New River to save the life of a little boy*, who would undoubtedly have been drowned without his timely assistance. It is indeed a circumstance not a little remarkable in the life of one man, that his courage and presence of mind, were the means of rescuing four different persons from a watery grave. The first time was when a boy skating on the Trent near Marnham; the second was on board the *Magnanime*, as already

* It is hoped that it may not be deemed irrelevant here to mention the manner in which this poor child, an orphan from the parish of Clerkenwell, was wont to manifest the gratitude of an overflowing heart. He never attempted any verbal expression of thankfulness, but he was daily seen watching near the house of his preserver, and at the hour when the good old major took his usual walk, his little attendant followed him in silence, and was ready to open the numerous gates between his residence and that of his friend Mr. Holt White, towards which his steps were generally directed.

mentioned; the third was again on the Trent at Marnham, about the year 1770; and the fourth instance occurred at Enfield, in the case of the little boy above named.

While yet a midshipman, Mr. Cartwright, to whom inaction appears to have been particularly irksome, made a proposal to Lord Howe, to undertake the burning of some French men-of-war lying at the mouth of the river Charente*; but though his Lordship expressed a high admiration of the young man's spirit and intelligence, he considered the project as too hazardous to be attempted.

The following letter, written in a playful style to his sisters, is here introduced, as descriptive of his feelings and occupations during this early period of his life. To those who were personally acquainted with him, it will be amusing, as being probably the only ebullition of spleen, which either in joke or earnest ever escaped his lips or his pen. It is addressed to Miss Fadec Cartwright, the letters F, A, D, E, and C, being the initials of the names of his five sisters:

“ Quiberon, on board the *Magnanime*,
“ 25th July, 1761.

“ I do not know that I ever was in a much worse humour than at present, for I have not received one letter from England since we joined Boscawen, which is above a month ago. Always on the ap-

* An attempt was made to destroy a Spanish squadron at the mouth of the river Charente, by Sir Charles Pole, in the year 1803. This was also the scene of Lord Cochrane's more successful enterprize, six years afterwards.

pearance of a sail from Old England, I have given chase with the greatest eagerness after the letter-bag, but by an unlucky fate have been taken all aback with squalls of disappointment that had nearly carried away the mast of my patience ; but for the future, like a prudent seaman, I shall close the topsails of my expectations. If my cruise be still unsuccessful, I shall scud away for the first port under my lee, until the arrival of a letter from Marnham, like the rainbow over Noah's ark, shall give me better hopes of sunshine.

“ I have given you one reason for ill-humour, but lest you should not think that enough, I will relate a few more. In the first place, instead of a Lord Howe, we have got a man who loves syllabub and meats for the belly : secondly, we are likely to remain till Christmas, only to look at two or three French ships ; and if we please we may tantalize ourselves with the beautiful variety of the country in sight, where our enemies are enjoying the gifts of nature in safety, while we are glad of a little fresh meat and sweet water. Add to this the loss of so much time which we might employ in cruising to our enemy's disadvantage and our own gain, in point of experience at least. If it were not for fear of being absent at any accidental service we may by chance perform, it would be more profitable to be taken prisoner for a few months, and to have the advantage of learning French and fencing, for when my turn of duty does not take me on deck, I can only employ my-

self in reading what I have read over and over, or in a little drawing, which is my favourite amusement when I can get into a snug corner by myself; sometimes indeed I have a little serious chat with a conversable person, and I am lucky enough to find my two last messmates of this description, otherwise we have very few among us. I mentioned one in my last letter, and the other is Mr. Metcalf, a son of Mr. Stephen Metcalf, who lives near Brig, in Lincolnshire. Our master being left behind, prevents my improving as I could wish in mathematics.

“ I could add a thousand things to these, which would make a parson swear; but as I have only five minutes longer to send my letter in, I will ask you one question, and conclude: if you were in my place, whether you would not think yourself treated in the most inhumanest, most barbarousest, most neglectedest, most discontentingest, most grievousest, most baulkingest, and most unparalleled manner in the world? Answer me this question.

“ I remain your most peevish

“ and most splenetick brother,

• “ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In 1762 he was appointed lieutenant on board the Wasp, Captain Webster, and was chiefly employed in cruising in the Bay of Biscay.

From 1763 to the 14th of May, 1766, while only a lieutenant, he had the command first of the

Spy, and afterwards of the Sherbourne cutter. During this period none of his letters are preserved except the following, addressed to his next brother, Edmund, afterwards Dr. Cartwright, who, it appears, had at an early age shewn a talent for poetical composition.

“ Deal, 20th September, 1763.

“I shall take the liberty to beg you will indulge me with a sight of some of those little pieces in the composition of which you sometimes amuse yourself. Give me leave to inform you, that I already rank one poet among my intimate acquaintance* (and he of no small note either); so you need not be shy for fear of not getting into good company. It is my ambition to converse with the geniuses (if I may not write *genii*) of the age, and learned men I honour exceedingly. Were I a potentate they should be respected at my court before nobles, and it should be glorious from the lustre of their wisdom.

“ Though my soil was early under the care of slothful husbandmen, and has been denied the sunshine of a college; though it has been exposed to ruthless elements, those inveterate foes to human erudition; yet do not altogether consider the produce of a richer soil and happier culture as pearls cast before swine.”

In 1766, on the 14th of May, he was made first-

* Falconer, author of “ The Shipwreck.”

lieutenant of the Guernsey, Captain Chads, on the Newfoundland station. By Sir Hugh Pallisser, then Commander-in-chief and Governor of Newfoundland, he was appointed to be his deputy or surrogate within the districts of Trinity and Conception Bays; and in 1767 he was made deputy commissary to the Vice-Admiralty Court in Newfoundland.

Without entering into a detail of the petty disputes among so mixed a set of persons as would naturally compose the population of a colonial fishing station, it may merely be observed, that he fulfilled the duties of his irksome office with that spirit of patient investigation, that anxious regard for truth, which accompanied every act of his life.

Among other acts of justice, which he accomplished with infinite labour and perseverance, was the protection of the poor Irish, who came over at the fishing season, and who were frequently imposed upon and ill treated by their employers. As the affairs of Newfoundland are doubtless on a very different footing at this day, the difficulties Mr. Cartwright had to encounter in his official situation could hardly be believed, except by an examination of the papers relative to these transactions*.

During the whole of his naval service, Mr. Cartwright appears to have possessed the full confidence

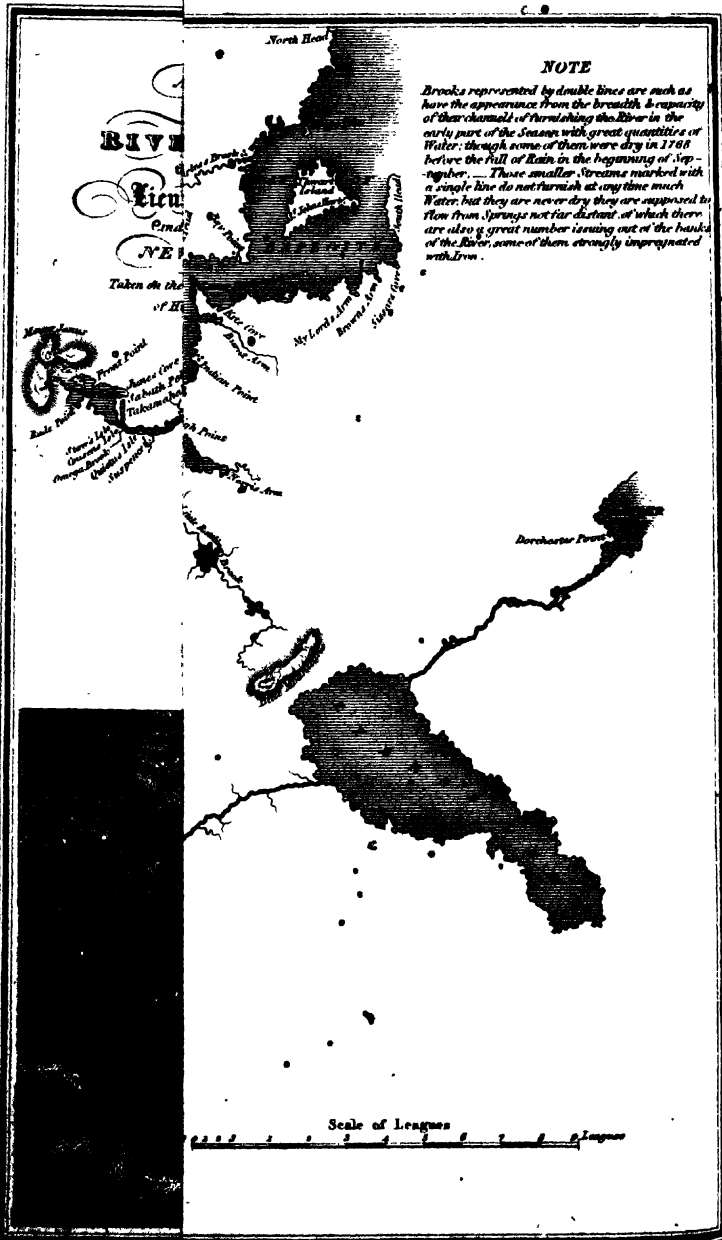
* See Appendix, No. 1.

of his superior officers, and to have been always ready to act with zeal and ability; while his kindness to all under his command made him an object of affection as well as of respect. Many of his younger brother officers, who afterwards rose to rank and distinction, acknowledged with gratitude the obligations they were under to him for the attention he paid to their improvement in the knowledge of their profession, and for the almost parental care he took of their morals. ,

Among others was that excellent man, the late Admiral Sir William Young, who sent for his old friend, on his death-bed, and reminded him, in the warmest manner, of their early friendship. Sir John Ord and Admiral the Honourable George Berkeley, also took pleasure in speaking of his kindness to them in early life; and Captain James King, who accompanied Captain Cook round the world, used to say, with tears in his eyes, that "his friend Cartwright was to him a father." *

In 1768 Mr. Cartwright penetrated to and discovered a lake which proved to be the source of the river Exploits, emptying itself into a bay of

* A few weeks before his death, and when in a state of great bodily weakness, Major Cartwright was gratified by a visit from one of the companions of his early youth, Admiral Charles Hamilton, son of Lord Anne Hamilton, who, accidentally hearing where he resided, came to express to him the same kind feeling of a grateful heart. The writer has observed with regret, that this gentleman paid the debt of nature not many months after the decease of his old messmate.



the same name. This lake he called Lieutenant's Lake; and the accompanying chart is an exact copy of that taken by him upon the spot.

In a note attached to this chart, he thus describes the river of Exploits. "The banks of this river, from its source down to the Nut Islands, are at very unequal distances, being in some places half a mile, and at others only an hundred yards, apart; the distances not decreasing gradually as you go up, or gradually augmenting as you come down; for within a league of Lieutenant's Lake, there are places as broad as the lower parts, where the tide flows. Were it not for the several rattles on this river, and the great falls, it would be navigable for flat boats up to the lake. At every one of them except Flat Rattle, which is a shingle bank, the bed is an entire rock, with ragged prominences that make so many small cascades, while the falls exhibit one of the most awful and magnificent kind, the grandeur of which is heightened by the romantic appearance of the surrounding scene. After very deep snows are dissolved by a hasty thaw, this river swells above banks of twenty feet high, as appears by the wounds made by drift ice in the trunks of the standing trees. The ice of the lake, and all the upper parts of the river, frequently lodges on the shoals till it is piled up to a great height. The mighty mass of ice at length gives way, with a noise as loud as thunder, and the torrent rushes down with a fury and impetuosity which nothing can withstand."

Of this expedition he gave a full account in a letter addressed to Sir Hugh Pallisser, from which a few extracts will be given. Some further particulars will be found in the Appendix (No II.), respecting the Aborigines of Newfoundland, and especially of the brutal treatment which that ill-used race experienced from the fishermen of the island.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER TO SIR HUGH PALLISSER,

Dated, " Foulquet, 19 September, 1768.

" Presuming, Sir, that you might have a desire to know what occurred in our journey worthy observation, I have hurried over the inclosed unfinished sketch, to lay before your Excellency, and shall take the liberty to run over such particulars as may serve to convey an idea to you of the scenes that presented themselves to us.

" On the twenty-fourth of last month we rowed, in the evening, from John Cousens's house, near Indian Point, to Start Rattle, where we left the boat in the woods, and at sun-rise next morning, (Mr. Stow*, my brother; and five seamen, being on the south side; Cousens, myself, and five more, on the north side of the river,) we began our march, each person carrying his own provisions, consisting of fourteen pounds of bread, and seven pounds of meat. Our other burthens were also distributed as equally as possible. Early that day and throughout

* The Reverend Neville Stow, Chaplain of the Guernsey.

the same, we discovered so many wig-whams (most of which appeared to be the work of last winter), that we were in high spirits, fully expecting to find parties of the Indians in a short time. Towards night, having accommodated ourselves in a wig-wham, we spent what short time we had to spare, in searching for such things as might enable us to form the best judgment of what might be before us. The many remnants of split spruce roots, and other materials used upon the canoes, led us to conjecture, that this was a spot where the Indians stopped in their passage to the sea coast, to repair and fit their canoes for the summer hunting among the islands. The second day, in the morning early, we found a large raft lodged in the bank : it was of Indian construction, and composed with strength and ingenuity. The shores on each side continued an entire wood, as they had been from the first, still running chiefly upon birch and poplar, which I am informed is a certain indication of their having been once burnt. It is remarkable, that when a wood of almost entire fir is destroyed by fire, these other trees should, as it were, spring from their ashes ; while scarce one fir in a thousand is restored, that before exceeded the poplars and birch in the inverse proportion of a thousand to one*. I could not at first very readily assent to this proposition ; but observation has since recon-

* Shoots will spring up from the old stock of birch or poplar trees, but pines or firs perish when once hewn down, or burnt.

ciled it to my belief. The third day throughout, and the first part of the fourth, we still perceived much the same traces of Indians as before; Ranger's river being crost, the deer fence was seldom visible, and all other vestiges discontinued very much, in comparison of what we had hitherto seen. We now began to imagine that the Indians wholly abandoned these parts, to resort to the sea coast for the summer; only residing here in the winter, so long as they could subsist on the venison killed at their toils, and the furs taken in the course of the season; except indeed they might inhabit the shores of the large lake, which Cousens's Indian had formerly reported to lie at the head of this river, and to be the seat of their capital settlement. This prospect again revived our hopes, as the river's course making every step we trod an advance towards the western coast. The fifth morning my brother, and four of his party, having worn out their shoes, were obliged to return; but Mr. Stow and one attendant crossed the river to join us. It was early the same day we found the square house described in the references. It seemed to have been a very comfortable winter quarter; and more than ever confirmed our supposition with regard to the Indians' change of residence with the seasons. . . . On setting forward the sixth day, we were obliged to leave behind us one man, to repair his shoes, and wait our return; and ere we had travelled three hours, found ourselves deserted by three fellows more, who were so sick of the river,

that they never stopt to be overtaken until they got back to Cousens's house. Our whole party, Mr. Stow and myself excepted, were now nearly barefoot: the scarcity of game we had met with, had reduced our provisions to a bare sufficiency for regaining the boat; our wished-for lake might be still far distant, without any other prospect of seeing the Indians, except there; besides very bad weather seemed now to be set in, as it had rained the greatest part of this and the preceding day.— All these obstacles and discouragements conspiring, we had almost thoughts of giving up our pursuit of the lake. At the place where we halted, the river had some unusual mud beds; and there were decayed weeds that seemed but lately to have driven down, and lodged in the cove; which appearing to me the most promising sign of a neighbouring lake that had any where presented itself, rendered my desire of proceeding, so long as a ray of light remained, too powerful to be withstood. Leaving the rest of the party to erect a lodging, and advancing about half a league, I had the satisfaction to discover an opening, which, in a few minutes, gave me an extensive view of the object that had so strongly excited my curiosity. A quick pace soon gratified my solicitude; and having, at the end of six days' labour, reached Sabbath Point, I then sat down to rest, and to enjoy the thoughts of being able to return without so blank an account of the expedition as seemed at one time probable. Upon Tacamahaca Point grew abundance

of the aromatic shrub of that name ; which, in England, is an exotic imported from America. It resembles the leaves and branches of a pear tree, and grows amongst the stones along the upper edge of the beach. This is the only spot in this island where I have either seen it, or heard of its being produced, so that I am inclined to consider the Canadians as the transplanters of it from the Continent. It is probably used by them in medicine ; for I have been informed that the leaf of it, applied to a green wound, is a good remedy. Upon this point, also, I passed a vacancy in the woods, where the remains of wig-whams appeared. The morning following, having left another man behind to mend his shoes, the rest of us, being only five of the original fourteen, went to view the lake, and walked about half way to the bottom of June's Cove, which we found to answer the description of such a place given by the Indian boy, June, where he said his father dwelt.

“ Over the western part of the lake, there hung such a fog and dark clouds, that we could not extend our view more than two leagues down. It is probably of much greater length, seeming to bend towards the south-west ; but, from the form of the land, I do not imagine it is anywhere very broad. This river and lake, running for so long a distance, in so convenient a direction, I had a strong inclination to take a view from the summit of Mount Janus, which was the highest land we had seen from our losing sight of Labour-in-vain Mountain.

“ The whole country that lay open to our view around the lake, as well as the shores of the river from end to end, is one unvarying scene of thick woods. Leaving the lake about noon, we travelled back with as much speed, as bad shoes and very rainy weather would admit of, reaching our boat the fifth afternoon. The practicability of getting a whale-boat into the lake, to carry a stock of provisions for enabling a party to visit Mount Janus and the country beyond it, made me wish to have been so provided, and unconfined to time, that I might have returned immediately, and made an attempt to have found a way quite across the island. At all opportunities I cast an eye on the naked beds of the brooks, and over the uncovered rocks, but without perceiving any indications of lead or copper that I was acquainted with: but in many places the water is strongly tinged with iron. As I detain Mr. Munns, who has a fair wind and waits only for my letter, besides which, I fear, Sir, that I have trespassed on your time too far, I have the honour to subscribe myself

“ Your Excellency’s

“ Most obedient humble Servant,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT. ”

Major Cartwright delighted in recalling to his recollection this particular period of his life, and he would remark, that he did not wonder at the attachment manifested by hunters and back-woods-

men, for the independence of a wild and savage existence.

He loved to describe the solitary scenery of Newfoundland and Labrador, and its awful effect upon the mind: the stillness of the almost impenetrable birch woods was rarely interrupted even by the deer, and still more rarely by the foot of the Indian; scarcely a bird was seen for a space of many miles, and these extensive regions compared with most others, were almost unenlivened by the presence of animal life. Still, however, he would say, that these scenes had charms for the young and active adventurer, whose day of toil and exertion which had been spent with only the occasional refreshment of a few whortle or cranberries, was rewarded by the fire of pine branches, over which he broiled his supper of reindeer's flesh, and by the sound unbroken sleep which was afforded by a bed hastily formed of the bark and leaves of the birch. On his return to England in the latter end of this year, he gives the following account of an Esquimaux woman who was brought over to this country:

“ Since our arrival in England,” says he, “ I have had much entertainment of a singular nature. You must know we have brought with us one of those delicate ladies from Labrador, of whom I gave you last year some description. Her admiration of every new object is extremely striking. The grand hospital at Portsmouth being the only

building she had seen except the fishing-huts of Newfoundland, made a wonderful impression upon her. Notwithstanding her being brought up a barbarian in the full sense of the word, she is already become civilized and polite, but she has no lack of those passions which are said to be peculiar to her sex, and looks with very envious eyes on every woman whose dress is more beautiful than her own. She can hardly allow any Englishwoman to be handsome, but she is more just to the men—she herself is horribly ugly. I brought over eight dogs for my friends, but five of them died on the voyage.”*

This woman was the first Esquimaux who came to this country. Captain George Cartwright afterwards brought over five others in December, 1772.

On the 21st of February, 1769, Mr. Cartwright was appointed to the *Antelope*, Captain Gayton,

* Major Cartwright used to relate many curious particulars of this woman; among others, that on being shewn the interior of St. Paul's, she was so struck with astonishment and awe, that her knees shook under her, and she leaned for support on the person who stood next her. After a pause of some moments, she exclaimed in a low and tremulous voice, “Did man make it, or was it found here?”

When the gentleman who had the care of her, informed her that they must now return to her country, as the money appropriated for their support was exhausted, she asked why they could not go into the woods and kill venison. The gentleman replied that he would be hung if he attempted to kill venison in England; on which the Esquimaux woman after bursting into a loud laugh, exclaimed in a tone of the greatest contempt, “Hanged for killing venison, oh you fool!”

and the Hon. John Byron having succeeded Sir Hugh Pallisser, continued Mr. Cartwright as deputy or surrogate, by a new commission, dated July, 1769.

In a letter written during this year (1770), to the editor of the *St. James's Chronicle*, on the subject of the ornamental designs for ships' heads, he humourously describes his surprise on seeing at the head of a new ship (the *Queen of ninety guns*), not, as he expected, an elegant personification of *Charlotte of Mecklenburg*, but a ferocious looking lion, whose extended jaws seemed to hunger after blood and carnage. In this letter he suggests the idea of a nautic order of architecture, an idea which he afterwards brought to maturity, in his designs for a temple of naval celebration.

On quitting the Newfoundland station in 1770, and resigning his office of surrogate, he gave in a memorial in behalf of his successor, representing that the pay of a lieutenant was very inadequate to meet the expenses attendant on such a situation. A remarkable trait of disinterestedness is thus exhibited in making this representation in favour of his successor, though he had incurred the expense for five years without any complaints of the hardship to himself.

During this year he was so anxious that justice should be done to Captain Bentinck's newly-invented chain pump, which had been rejected by the then surveyor of his Majesty's navy, that he wrote several letters on the subject, signed "In-

sularis'', for the newspapers; inveighing much against the neglect of that useful invention. It does not appear, however, that he had any personal acquaintance with that gentleman, or that Captain Bentinck ever learned the name of his friendly eulogist.

On Mr. Cartwright's return from Newfoundland, he was invited by his original commander Lord Howe, at the commencement of a war with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, to become one of his lieutenants on board the Queen. This invitation he gladly accepted; but the dispute being adjusted, and the Queen being made guardship at Spithead, he availed himself of the opportunity her peaceful destination afforded him, of returning home for the benefit of his health.

His constitution, naturally strong, had been greatly impaired by his long services abroad, particularly by the hardships he had encountered during a shipwreck on the coast of Newfoundland, on which occasion he had exposed himself to great fatigue and exertion, in the necessary duties of so arduous a situation. So materially was he changed in his appearance, that his family did not recognize him on his return. Instead of the fresh complexion and robust frame which he had carried to Newfoundland, he had become pallid and emaciated to an alarming degree. His health continued very indifferent for many years subsequent to this period*,

* About the year 1774, having been given up by many of the faculty, he consulted the celebrated Dr. James, who, by the use

and he never afterwards regained his former colour, or the plumpness of figure which he possessed in early youth.

During this interval he employed his leisure hours in writing a pamphlet on the Rights and Interests of Fishing Companies; and notwithstanding the bad state of his health, he was in the year 1772, extremely anxious to be sent on the northern expedition, of which the Hon. Capt. Phipps had the chief command. The attention he paid to this subject may be seen in the information with which he supplied the Hon. Daines Barrington, in his work on the possibility of approaching the North Pole; and it was probably owing in part to this circumstance that he afterwards took a lively interest in the northern expeditions of the gallant Captains Parry, Ross, &c.

In this year (1772) he also first drew up a Plan for a perpetual supply of English oak for the Navy*, which was highly approved of by many persons connected with the Ministry, and of which Dr. Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, can-

of his Analeptic Pill, threw out a smart fit of suppressed gout. To him, under Providence, Mr. C. always said that he owed his life. One day, when the Doctor called on him, Mr. C. pointed to some phials which lay on the table, and said they had been ordered by the Apothecary, adding, "Do you think they will do me any good?"—"Any good? no!" said the Doctor, "but they will do *him* some."

* The outline of this Plan will be found in the Appendix to the "Letter to the Duke of Newcastle", published in 1792.

didly remarked: "We are not honest enough for such plans as these."

This Plan, which he was during ten years *endeavouring* to recommend to the notice of Government, was afterwards partially adopted, without any acknowledgement of its author.

That it did not originate from any hope of benefit to himself, may be seen by an extract from a letter, addressed to the lady whom he afterwards married; from his correspondence with whom the writer has been permitted to take some passages, which appear to illustrate particular incidents, or to mark the characteristic turn of thought in which every action of his life originated.

" TO MISS D.

" May 12, 1772.

" On Thursday I shall call at the Admiralty again, and repeat my visits until I am admitted. No part of my scheme has been applied to the present timber bill: I will forgive them; if they will but adopt the principle of it, let them put it into what bill they please, or where they please.

" You have often heard me speak of Fuseli, the wild painter, now at Rome, and admire his greatness of mind, as well as the force of his genius. You will partake with me in the pleasure I enjoyed in hearing the following anecdote of him:

" By the interest of Sir Joshua Reynolds, he was employed to copy a capital picture at Rome for his Majesty; for which he was to be paid 1500 guineas. You must know that he has a bare maintenance;

and that a munificent friend in England is at the principal expence of supporting him while he studies abroad. While preparing for the execution of the above commission, he became acquainted with a very indigent, obscure young artist, an Englishman by birth, and was in a short time so much struck with his skill in painting, that he wrote home to excuse himself from making the copy, and to recommend his friend, whom he represented as so much his superior in the art, that he could not, in justice to his merit, accept of such an employment while he was disengaged. Is Fuseli, or Lord Clive, most to be envied?"*

" May 15th, 1772.

" Your kind letter fell into my hands immediately on my return from Lord Sandwich.

" His Lordship did me the honor to pay many handsome compliments to my scheme, but told me it was a thing of too great extent and consequence for him to put himself at the head of, as the business was not within the limits of his department.

" When I asked his opinion of it, he was too much of a minister to give me a direct answer ; but he expressed a general approbation of the attempt, and of the execution, as far as he could judge ; and he added, that should such a plan be introduced

* Major Cartwright used to relate another striking anecdote of Fuseli—that being offered a very lucrative appointment, as painter to a native East Indian Prince, he refused it with contempt, preferring to work his way to fame in Europe, rather than to devote his time and talents to the service of an ignorant Eastern despot.

into Parliament, he believed he should give it his support, &c. &c. Finding his lordship declined taking the lead in its favour, I asked him if there would be any impropriety in, or if he should have any objection to, my presenting it to Lord North : he acquiesced with great readiness, and after a little more conversation I took my leave. I shall therefore transcribe it as soon as possible, although without any expectation of its being well received. But I will do what I think right, and leave the rest to those who have the power."

" 1st June, 1772.

" I have left my plan with Lord North, as I proposed, with a short letter. His Lordship will probably be surprised at so unaccustomed a method of approaching him on such an occasion. He may possibly be offended, but I would not waste my time in town now it is so precious, to have all the advantages of being graciously received at his levee. He will probably think my letter not sufficiently ceremonious, but he may assure himself it is in as courtly a style as I am capable of writing. You shall judge, however, how I have conducted myself in this matter, as writing to a prime minister may be thought a nice point, although I am of opinion we ought to correspond with them much in the same way as with other men."

" Weymouth, 3d July, 1772.

" I am now in the middle of Beattie's work on truth, which is worthy the subject : at Portland I read with great pleasure Lord Littleton's admi-

nable letter on the conversion of St. Paul, which does honour to the noble writer. Campbell's lives of the admirals and naval history will furnish me with employment, and will remove in some degree my shameful ignorance on a subject so necessary in my profession."

" 6th Jan. 1773.

" To-morrow, my brother, the Esquimaux, and myself, are to dine with a select party of the Royal Society, among whom is to be Solander. We have had him frequently. My brother is in greater spirits with regard to his Labrador schemes than at first setting off; although he has hitherto experienced every loss and disappointment that could befall a man. With an excellent heart and understanding he early took a turn which has indeed found employment for an active disposition, and been a source of continual satisfaction to him, but it has at the same time prevented his tasting the more refined delight of society in a superior degree. He will therefore be happy in Labrador."

" 1st February, 1773.

" My brother has succeeded in his wish with Lord Dartmouth, and will shortly be proprietor of the tract in Labrador he had fixed upon. Our Esquimaux friends are universally admired, and most so by the most intelligent. They are to make a visit at Marnham. *My* affairs are not in a bad way,—for I stand a good chance of being employed on a service which is to terminate in promotion. The ship that is fixed upon is now in

commission, that is, she is manned and employed ; so that Lord Sandwich thinks it but right to make an offer to her present captain of going on the intended service, but there is reason to think he will decline it, and in that case I have a better chance than any other person."

" 20th November, 1773.

" With me Reid's inquiry into the human mind succeeded Locke, and is now dismissed for Doddridge's Rise and Progress. This last was referred to by Dr. Munter, of Copenhagen, in his narrative of the Conversion of Struensee, which gave me a curiosity for reading it, but I cannot give any opinion of it as yet, having only read the dedication, but Reid's work I hold to be a very admirable performance. David Hume the historian, with wonderful talents for metaphysical refinements, had, in the opinion of his admirers, who were very numerous, overturned all the principles of belief, not only in religion, but of all existence both of matter and spirit, so that as Reid expresses it, ' There was according to his system no ground for believing any one thing whatever, rather than its contrary.' "

" It is really amazing how universally, especially among the polite and lettered world, his pernicious tenets had spread themselves, together with other poisonous matter, blended with art and eloquence, in the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau ; but however they may hurt the present generation,

posterity will benefit by these friends of infidelity, for truth will always benefit by discussion.

“ I have met with few works better calculated to promote the cause of religion than Locke’s ‘ Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures.’ I never once heard it quoted or spoken of; but I think it the most satisfactory book of the kind I ever met with in my life, and the best key to the inspired writings of the New Testament.

“ It is with much satisfaction that I perceive how nearly you and I are likely to agree upon points of the highest importance. It would be disingenuous in me to deny that I had at one time a much better opinion of Hume’s writings than I have at present, as it would be unfair did I not acknowledge that he has taught me many useful things.

“ Reid acknowledges his great abilities, and it was not by denying his reasoning that he overthrew his doctrines, but by making the discovery of a truth which had lain hid from the learned ever since the days of Aristotle, whereby he shewed that his first principles were false, although they had been acknowledged for truth by all the learned of all intervening ages, and among the rest by two steadfast Christians, Locke and Bishop Berkeley*.

* In Major Cartwright’s copy of Price’s *Dissertations*, p. 956, the following note in his hand-writing, which appears to have the date of the year 1776, shews his continued attention to the subjects here spoken of.

“ Perhaps it may be thought even by deists, a material ob-

“ Sir Thomas More’s Utopia has given me singular pleasure, for I had never heard it spoken of but by persons who did not understand it.—It is a work abounding with wisdom and philanthropy. The man who would wish to become superior to the power of gold and the lust of ambition, should make himself intimate with Sir Thomas More.”

“ Nov. 29, 1773.

“ My friend * * * could not have flattered me more successfully than by attributing to me a disposition for making the best of every thing, as I take it to be one of the essentials in religion of every one who believes in a Providence, and of a Christian in particular ; for I have no doubt but that it is our business to turn every hour and every minute in life to our advantage, whether it be prosperous or otherwise. I have always thought it extreme impiety to repine at the evils of life.”

Mr. Cartwright spent part of the spring of the year 1774 at Bath for the recovery of his health, and there acquired many valuable acquaintances, among others William Melmoth, Esq., the author of Fitzosborne’s Letters. On the 18th of May

jection to Hume’s doctrine, that if it be true, it must necessarily follow that it is now beyond the power of God to communicate to man any knowledge whatever, not at present within the reach of that imperfect faculty of reason which he *at first* bestowed upon him. Must not he who can make so absurd a supposition have either a weak or a bewildered mind ? ”

he writes "I am become acquainted with the Dean of Durham, who was tutor to Lord North. The Dean has put my timber plan into the hands of Dr. Douglas, who is esteemed a learned and clever man.—My rides in the neighbourhood are rendered very agreeable by the company of a lady with whom I much wish you were acquainted. She has a very superior and highly cultivated understanding, and like myself is an invalid and a prospect-hunter.

"Judge Barrington, of whom you have heard me speak, has lately communicated to me a matter that is in agitation for another discovery in a very distant part of the world: and I believe I shall have it in my power to furnish him and Lord Sandwich with some very useful information on the subject, by means of a valuable manuscript of my late friend Captain Shelly, who had meditated the same undertaking. I shall endeavour to make it useful to Mrs. Shelly if possible, and, provided he should upon a perusal judge the manuscript to be of that consequence which I apprehend it will be to the officer chosen for the command, I shall make some stipulations in favour of the owner, as she sends it to me in the most handsome manner."

' In 1774, Mr. Cartwright wrote his letter to Edmund Burke, Esq., and his mind began to be more and more turned towards political subjects, as appears by the following observations in a letter dated the 10th of August, 1774.

“My letters on American Independence are now in the press*. As a republication of them may possibly be displeasing to Government, I do not wish at present to be known as their author. —I am not afraid of the *law*, but should be glad of advancement in my profession.

“If Lord Sandwich should pay any attention to my interest it will be in the spring at the approach of the election. I am firmly persuaded he will, and equally so that my father will give him all his votes. But should they ever come into my hands it will be quite a matter of doubt that I should do the same. The subject of my letters and other considerations have of late caused me to consider the voting for Members of Parliament as a very serious duty, not to be sacrificed to interest; and whatever I may consider as my duty, I trust that I shall always have resolution to practise.”

“April, 1775.

“I do not know if I told you I am likely to find

* It is a singular coincidence, that in this very year Patrick Henry first brought in America the idea of its independence. In a conversation which took place before the commencement of hostilities against the mother-country, Mr. Henry said “our *independence* will be established, and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth.” Colonel Overton relates, that at the word *independence* the company appeared to be startled, for they had never heard any thing of the kind suggested. Life of Henry, p. 94.

It is well known that the celebrated declaration of independence was not adopted by the legislature of the United States until two years afterwards, viz. on the 7th July, 1776.

a good advocate for my plan with Lord North in his secretary Mr. Eden.—On relating the particulars of his behaviour, which did him great credit, to my friend Mr. Cooke of Bedford Square, I found I was speaking to one who has been in intimate friendship with him and his family for many years. Mr. Cooke will do every thing which a superior understanding and the warmest heart can dictate to forward my plan.—He has often told me I do not pay attendance enough among the great to forward it properly.”

“ 21 May, 1775.

“ Through the interest of Mr. Cooke, I believe, a new friend is raised up in support of the timber-plan in Sir William Bagot, who approves highly of it, and will give it his support in the House of Commons. Last week I called on Sir George Savile; he did me the honour to say he thought the proposal was the most eligible he had ever seen with regard to the forests, or that could be made both to serve the crown and the public.”

“ Sept. 4, 1775.

“ I will agree with you in hanging Mr. Wilkes, if he can be *legally* tucked up; but no reflections, I beg of you, upon the cap of liberty.—The same words and the same symbols will still signify and express the same things, how much soever they may be abused by worthless men.”

* * * * *

“ The militia by its institution is not intended to

spread the dominion or to vindicate in war the honour of the crown, but it is to preserve our laws and liberties, and therein to secure the existence of the state. It is in allusion to this specific duty that I thought the sword held up in a posture of defence over the book, and the cap, the proper emblems of law and liberty, a suitable device.

“ When I wrote last I believe I had not told you that I had carried a great point with regard to the colours of the regiment. . The cap of liberty is to be displayed on the banners, as well as to grace our buttons.

“ My patience and forbearance with the whole crew of ministers are now worn out, and I cease to make those allowances I did for a long time.

“ But the Governor of the universe will, I hope, temper his justice with mercy, so that this heedless nation may not grow blinder and more hardened in heart by the effects of his righteous judgments.

“ I thank you for the lines to the expected maid of honour. There is a pleasing and amiable turn of thought in them, but the poetry is of the feeble kind. Although I am myself no critic in poetry, I find that none but what the critics allow to be excellent gives me any considerable pleasure. Philosophical reading, and a habit of thinking rather closely, disqualifies one from enjoying ordinary or only tolerable poetry. When in pursuit of thought, one cannot bear the disappointment of meeting with only musical words; and, in the pur-

suit of additional knowledge, it is mortifying to find that only *sung* which has been said a thousand times before. But true genuine poetic fire will always gratify the reader, however philosophical, by the bold and brilliant points of light in which the subject is placed, especially if that subject be worthy of the poet, and be made subservient to morality. This, however, is a rule not always observed, and, in this particular, painters are also blameable;—surely that collection in which is admitted a single piece offensive to virtue ought to be condemned as imperfect, and the objection is only strengthened by the goodness of the painting.

“If the Board of Admiralty or Navy Board will be so kind as to dispense with my attendance till after the holidays, I will fly down to ——— if it be only for an hour.”

* * * * *

“My timber plan has at last been taken notice of, and referred by Lord North to the Board of Admiralty; they have just looked it over and referred it to the Navy Board [See Appendix, No. III.] as their council in matters of this nature. As this is an object of great extent, of the utmost importance to the public, and as I neither propose nor mean to solicit that any part of it should be made beneficial to myself, I can submit to dance attendance, to court attention, and to solicit the favour of those on whom the success of it will depend, which I could by no means do in order to advance my own interest. I shall therefore wait

upon all the Navy Commissioners before I attend at the Board, to pay them the compliment of communicating to them separately and previously the substance and draft of the plan. I was yesterday with the Secretary of the Admiralty, and this morning with Lord Sandwich, and now that matters are got into a train, I shall omit no possible attention, nor leave any stone unturned, great or small, which may contribute to the carrying my point; as I shall hope thereby to do the public an essential service. Should I, even by an omission of those complimentary attentions, which I should scorn to observe in my own private case, defeat my scheme just in the crisis of its fate, I should never forgive myself. When I set forward in any matter of this kind, my whole soul is engaged, as long as there is a possibility of effecting any thing to the purpose; and when I have done my best, I am the better prepared for, and proof against a disappointment."

"I am much amused when I hear people speak of abiding by and supporting their family principles: mine was a Tory family as I have been told, and Popery was once its religion; but as for myself I shall neither be Papist nor Tory, until I can believe in the infallibility of popes and kings. On every point which materially affects a man's moral conduct, either as an individual or as a member of society, he must judge and act for himself. I should fear that family or party reasons would not

always make very good arguments at that tribunal where every man is to answer for his own doings."

While preparing for the press the second edition of "American Independence", he thus writes: "The abominable stupidity and waste of time in tea-drinking visits is enough to give one a surfeit of a town-life. I declare upon my honour, I had rather spend my evenings in Newgate with Mr. Platt, the American rebel, pirate and traitor, as he is called, than in such assemblies. Hearing a very favourable account of that young man, I made him a visit last week, and spent a couple of hours very pleasantly.

"His case, in my opinion, reflects disgrace on all concerned with his ill-treatment. There are pains now taking to get him released by means of Habeas Corpus, before the suspending bill shall have received the royal assent.

"At present I am not only angry with the ministers, but with the opposition too, for I have had occasion to learn some of their sentiments, and fear there is little real public virtue among them. But notwithstanding this, I cannot reconcile it to myself not to attempt every thing which is within my power towards calling the attention of the people to the dangers which I apprehend their liberty is exposed to. There is but one class of men whose opinions I rely on in points of this

kind—those who oppose ministers against their own interest, and who are at the same time able to give a reason for the faith that is in them. My friend Granville Sharp is of this number. He has given up his office at the Ordnance, rather than be concerned in carrying into execution orders which he esteems iniquitous. I am preparing my index, and shall send it to the printer's on Monday. While my thoughts and my heart are so much engaged on public affairs, you must hear of them; 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' When my work is out of my hands I shall be relieved from a pressure. I have been anxious to execute it in the best manner of which I was capable, as I entertain hopes that it may be instrumental in opening the eyes of the public. No man is infallible either in politics or in any other science; but there are some plain things in which every man of common sense may be infallible. The principles on which politics are built, are the principles of reason, morality, and religion, applied to the concerns of large communities, so that I do not allow political rectitude to be according to every man's judgment, but to be defined by the laws of God and nature. The Scripture is the ultimate criterion both in public and private principles, and unless a man be a fanatic or of a presumptuous turn of mind, I think he may be sure when he is right or wrong on almost every question of importance. As soon as I am delivered of my brat, I will make my visits; your friend H—— is at the top of the list. Would I

could find in those I have to deal with a moderate portion of integrity—I want but half a dozen honest men to save a city.”*

At a time when no member of Parliament had sufficient decision of mind to propose the independence of America, Major Cartwright suggested the expediency of an union between Great Britain and her colonies†, under separate legislatures. President Laurens, on his release from the Tower, being asked his opinion of Major Cartwright's plan, declared, “that for the peace and happiness of mankind, it was probably better the union should not take place; since it would give the United Kingdom such a degree of strength as would make them formidable to the rest of the world.”

Not contented with publishing his work on this subject, he afterwards caused a short argument to be printed, which, together with the tract

* Mr. Horne Tooke was heard to declare in conversation, that half a dozen men of Mr. Cartwright's character and firmness in the different counties, would have put a stop to the American War. It is curious to observe by the above letter, that though Major Cartwright at the very commencement of his political career, had reason to lament the want of public integrity by which his exertions were thwarted, he continued for forty-nine years afterwards to labour unceasingly, and at times almost unsupported, in the same cause.

† It appears in the Memoirs of Evelyn, Vol. I. p. 439, that New England even in his day, manifested symptoms of resistance to the authority of the mother-country, and that conciliatory measures were then adopted in consequence of a report made to the council respecting that colony by Colonel Cartwright, an ancestor of the Major

itself, was distributed at the door of Parliament to every member indiscriminately. From this argument, which is bound up with Major Cartwright's copy of *American Independence*, the following passages are extracted.

“ The British Legislature *hath* the right of sovereignty and legislation over British America, or it hath *not* these rights.

“ One of the above propositions must be true : the other must be false.”

* * * * *

“ Although propositions in morals or politics do not admit of absolute *demonstration*, yet in very many instances they are capable of *proof* equally satisfactory to the candid and upright enquirer.”

* * * * *

“ The subject of the pamphlet herewith inclosed, being extremely unpopular, and the work itself ill written, it has probably escaped your notice ; but, in regard to the point in question, it may afford some satisfaction, as well as in respect of the general *confederacy* it proposes to substitute in the room of *legislation*, for the purpose of securing to us a continuation of the benefits derived from our American Colonies.”

* * * * *

“ As institutions strictly honest, and not a foreknowledge of future events nor absolute perfection, are what a people expect of their legislators, those, therefore, who were concerned in passing

the Declaratory Act, would now best recommend themselves to the public esteem, by the magnanimity of saying, ' We have erred ; but we will try to do away our error, by striving, with all our powers, to cause the repeal of an act, which, from experience, and the new light thrown upon the subject by discussion, we are now convinced is inconsistent with the enjoyment of American freedom.' ”

As this early production of Major Cartwright's pen is now become extremely scarce, some extracts from it will be given, not with a view of entering into the discussion of the American question, but to point out the nature of those principles on which his political conduct was founded.—And here we may remark, that the grand secret of his consistency was the perfect simplicity of the doctrines he inculcated. He was bewildered by no refinements ; he took no shelter in subterfuge : he had nothing to explain away, and nothing to retract. The line between right and wrong was clear to his apprehension, and sacred to his observance. His principles not admitting of those subtleties and sophistries, the exercise of which sharpens the faculties of disputants in general, he was, by shallow reasoners, accounted deficient in acuteness ; but he wrote neither from motives of spleen nor of vanity : TRUTH was his sole object ; and to enforce her dictates, he would prefer repetition, or the blame of tediousness, rather than, by affecting ingenuity

or point, leave any part of his meaning misunderstood or unexplained.

It will also be gratifying to observe, that his intercourse for fifty years with political characters of every description (some of whom, we have seen, had already disappointed him), neither sullied the purity of his own native principles, nor abated that faith in public virtue, as the certain result of virtuous political institutions, which he in earlier life entertained.

From the Epistle Dedicatory to Sir George Savile, the following passages are selected.

“ I am not ashamed to confess myself one of those weak mortals who can believe that the ease and luxury of life are contemptible in the eyes of a good man, when his country demands his labours, his counsels, or his sword. Being of opinion, then, that patriotism is a real and exalted virtue, I must necessarily believe that to decline its duties, is a meanness unworthy the manly character; and that its wilful violation is the most atrocious of crimes.”

* * * * *

“ Perhaps too, the public may be more indebted to you than they seem to consider; for having by an uniform conduct through a series of years effectually overturned the darling but infamous maxim, that ‘ every man has his price ’; an opinion which could only arise in the basest and most degenerate heart.”

* * * * *

“ These unhappy men do not only forfeit by this conduct all title to trust and confidence in society, but, what is still worse, they expressly exclude themselves from the benefits of religion*, saying in effect that our Saviour’s mission for the purpose of teaching morality and bestowing salvation on mankind, so far from being an instance of divine wisdom and goodness, was executed like the vague schemes of purblind mortals to no manner of purpose, for so long as it is their assertion that every man has his price, so long do they assert that it is impossible to obey the laws of Christ in any tolerable degree.”

The first letter contains an appeal to the good sense and feeling of the Legislature, and points out the true glory that it would obtain by adopting a liberal policy towards the colonies, in favour of whose rights he argues in a plain, simple, and unaffected style.

In the second letter he observes that “ we have no need of profound learning, an intimate acquaintance with antiquity, nor even with the history of the respective provinces and their different origins; neither do we want copies of grants, charters, or acts of parliament, in order to judge of

* Major Cartwright always affirmed in conversation as well as in his writings, that both the Jewish and Christian dispensations were (when not perverted by the inventions of men) so remarkably favourable to human liberty, that there scarcely needed any other proofs of their divine origin. See “ People’s Barrier,” p. 85, and many others of his subsequent publications.

the question before us. If we comprehend but the most well-known principles of the English constitution ; if we comprehend but a few of the plain maxims of the law of nature and the clearest doctrines of Christianity, all which are so simple and clear as to be understood by hundreds, nay thousands of plain men, who know not that they are possessed of so useful a treasure, we have knowledge enough on this occasion.”

“ The only requisite wanting beyond this, is a heart strictly devoted to truth and virtue, without which we shall never understand any doctrine which does not soothe our passions.”—P. 7.

“ It is a capital error in the reasonings of several writers on this subject, that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate or a chattel, and go about to prove or disprove their right to it, by the letter of grants and charters, by custom and usage, and by municipal statutes. Hence we are told that these men have a right to more, those to less, and some to none at all. But a title to the liberty of mankind is not established on such rotten foundations. 'Tis not among mouldy parchments, or in the cobwebs of a casuist's brain, we are to look for it ; it is the immediate gift of God, and the seal of it is that free will which he hath made the noblest constituent of men's nature. It is not derived from any one, but it is original in every one ; it is inherent and unalienable.”

“ The most antient inheritance cannot strengthen this right, the want of inheritance cannot impair

it. The child of a slave is as free-born according to the law of nature, as he who could trace a free ancestry up to the creation. Slavery in all its forms, in all its degress, is an outrageous violation of the rights of mankind ; an odious degradation of human nature. It is utterly impossible that any human being can be without a title to liberty, except he himself have forfeited it by crimes which make him dangerous to society.”—P. 7.

“ All the subtilties and refinements, all the arguments that the wit of man can invent, will never be sufficient to justify any species of arbitrary dominion, while we retain a knowledge of this short and simple proposition, ‘ The good of society is the end of civil government,’ nor will they ever justify a discretionary taxation by a prince or government, the people being unrepresented, so long as we know that ‘ a man hath no property in that which another can take from him without his consent.’ ”—P. 14.

“ When men tell us, that an enlightened people are refractory, that they will not contribute their proportion of taxes, that at the hazard of their lives by the sword or the halter, they oppose and seek to subvert the government, and this for a succession of years ; they tell us with a moral certainty, that they feel oppressions, some real invasion of their rights or liberties ; for no other causes ever did, or ever will produce a general and permanent opposition in the whole body of a people towards their governors.”

* * * * *

“ Can we hesitate for a moment to pronounce what ought to be done? We ought to allow the Americans to tax themselves as an inseparable adjunct to freedom.”—P. 17.

“ Thus far had I written when the political tracts of a reverend Dean * fell into my hands.— They amply supply all the examples and explanation necessary to illustrate my principles, and shew to a demonstration the absolute necessity, in a political light †, of relinquishing our claims to the sovereignty of America, to which the whole tenor of my letters point and with which they conclude : —But I am far from subscribing to this gentleman’s doctrine as to the rights of sovereignty.”

* * * * *

“ While metaphysical refinements teach him to think that Britain hath a right to govern America, the invincible force of truth extorts from him an acknowledgement that she must, if governed by true policy, relinquish it.”—P. 32.

“ That Magna Charta is the great foundation of English liberties, and the basis of the English constitution, I must positively deny. It is indeed a glorious member of the superstructure, but of itself could never have existed, had not the con-

* Dr. Tucker, afterwards Dean of Gloucester.

† Burke appears to have reasoned in the same manner with the Dean, considering the American question as one of expediency and not of right.—His comparison between taxing America and *shearing a wolf* is well known.

stitution already had a basis, and a firm one too.— And as to this charter being the foundation of ‘English liberty’, that was evidently otherwise; since it was an exertion of this very liberty which produced the charter; extorting it from an encroaching King, as a mere formal declaration of rights, already known to be the constitutional inheritance of every Englishman.”—P. 39.

“If I have trespassed upon the reader, by a repetition of the same arguments in different places, I would observe that the few plain and clear arguments on which this question depends need to be repeated again and again, and never to be lost sight of; for the enemies of liberty, like the disingenuous foes of religion, are a sort of persons, who, conscious that they cannot convince, and determined to wrangle, do not scruple to advance the same stale arguments that have been a thousand times refuted before; and if not refuted again as often as they have the shamefulness to revive them, they insult their adversaries with affected shouts of victory and triumph.”—P. 49.

The general feeling of hostility towards the Colonies was at this time so strong, that a work written decidedly in their favour probably made little impression on the public mind, while “Taxation no Tyranny” well known to be the work of Dr. Johnson, in which bitterness and contempt, unfair illustration, and unsound argument were rendered grateful to the temper of the times,

through the medium of powerful and eloquent language; had already gone through three editions..

The author of "Taxation no Tyranny" remarks, "that a colony is to the mother-country as a member of the body, the prosperity or unhappiness of either is the prosperity or unhappiness of both in the same degree; for the body may subsist, though less commodiously, without a limb, but the limb must perish when parted from the body."—P. 28.

America, at this moment a free, powerful, and enlightened nation, supplies a conclusive comment on the respective opinions entertained fifty years ago by these two very opposite writers.

In 1775 Major Cartwright published a second edition of *American Independence*, and in the same year was appointed Major of the Nottinghamshire Militia. In a letter dated 2d September he says, "I have shewn my colonel a drawing I have made of a regimental button *, and it was very well liked. The design consists of a cap of liberty resting on a book, over which appears a hand holding a drawn sword in its defence. The motto is 'Pro legibus et libertate,' 'For our laws and liberty'; and in a different character the name of the county also in Latin. I proposed that a die should be made, in order to have them struck in the nature of coins."

In the organization and training of this regi-

* This button was in use in the Nottinghamshire militia for many years.

ment, the major took indefatigable pains; during two years of his service, the colonel only joined for a fortnight, and the lieutenant-colonel was never present, so that the whole conduct of the regiment depended upon himself; and it appears that by means of a system which excluded all unnecessary severity, but which in the mode of administration was undeviatingly strict, it attained to a degree of discipline which commanded universal admiration.—Of this undeviating strictness a friend has supplied the writer with a remarkable example. Perceiving that at first setting out on the march from Hull to Portsmouth the men were inclined to loiter in a manner inconsistent with military discipline, he assured them he should find means to prevent such irregularity in future. The offence was nevertheless repeated the next day; but just as they came in view of their quarters for the night, the Major drew them up, and ordering them to face about, without making any remark, marched them three miles back, thus adding six additional miles to the exercise of the day. The punishment had its desired effect, and was never again called for either during that or any other march in which he commanded. He likewise endeavoured to raise the moral as well as the military character of the regiment, and to this end, he wrote a pocket volume of orders and instructions, with which every commissioned and non-commissioned officer was supplied, and from which a

few extracts will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.* .

The opinion entertained in the regiment of the inflexibility of his principles, may be gathered from the following anecdote :

A private soldier being sentenced to be punished, was recommended to plead to him for forgiveness ; in the hope that his having a vote for Nottingham, for which place the Major had been proposed, would incline him to pardon. " I know it will be of no use," said the man, "*and for that very reason.*"

Amidst a variety of petty intrigues and disappointments, with which he had to contend during the period of his service in the Militia, it is pleasing to record that from Lord Percy, General of the District, and afterwards Duke of Northumberland, he invariably met with the most obliging support and approbation, as that nobleman's letters to him, expressed in the handsomest terms, would abundantly show.

In the following year (1776) Major Cartwright was put to one of the hardest trials which could fall to the lot of a man of spirit and sensibility.

To such a man the loss of wealth, of rank, and even of life, were trivial misfortunes compared with

* With a benevolent expression of pleasure in his countenance, Major Cartwright, on passing a centinel, wrapt up in his warm great coat, once observed to the writer, that he was the first officer who, to his knowledge, had caused great coats to be introduced among the British soldiery, a comfort which he obtained for them after repeated applications.

the probable loss of reputation ; yet this was the painful test which was to try the strength of his resolution, and the sincerity of his opinions. . •

During a correspondence, previous to the American dispute, Lord Howe had declared that he “ should consider it as a particular piece of good fortune, should he obtain the benefit of Mr. Cartwright’s professional assistance ;” and the time was now come when that nobleman, being appointed naval Commander in Chief, and Commissioner to America, he was enabled to offer him a situation on board his own ship.

But as the account of this transaction cannot be better given than in the words of him who was most interested in it, the following letter, written on the day after he had received Lord Howe’s invitation, and before he had delivered his answer, will be here inserted :

“ TO MISS D.

“ No. 1, Great-Ormond Street,

“ Monday, 5th Feb. 1776.

“ Many thanks for your kind epistle ; * * *
 * * * * * I received
 at the same time a note as follows :

“ ‘ Lord Howe’s compliments, and begs the favour of Mr. Cartwright’s company, any morning that will be most convenient to him, between nine or ten, in Grafton Street, and the sooner the better, if his state of health will allow him to pursue his former views in the navy at this time.’ ”

“ I had that morning learnt from a brother officer, just come from Grafton Street, that his Lordship was appointed to command in America, and that he intended me to be one of his lieutenants. At the Admiralty Office, I also learnt that there will be in America next summer about 80 ships of war. I believe the command of so many ships never fell to the lot of one man, since the defeat of the Spanish Armada ; so it will be the fairest field for promotion that can be imagined.

“ That in itself is a very strong temptation, but when I consider it as the means of removing all obstacles to the final possession of my inestimable friend, how shall I express its value ! I would purchase it at any price short of integrity. Passionately attached to the navy—my great ambition to serve with him, whom I consider the first officer in the world—my pride to receive promotion unsolicited, at such hands—my supreme happiness to make her whom I love my own—it is indeed a sacrifice—great ought indeed to be the satisfactions which honour, that rigid dictator, may have in store.

“ I mean to see Lord Howe to-morrow morning ; but as my mind is too full to suffer me to explain myself properly and without embarrassment, I believe I must do it in writing, and prepare a letter to leave with him. I would not wish that there should be a possibility of his attributing my conduct to wrong motives ; and how to touch upon the true ones, the case considered, is the grand difficulty.

“ I must about it, however. * * * *

“ 15th February, 1776.

“ The die is cast ; and it is probable hath put a period to my naval services. The morning after I wrote you my last short letter I waited on Lord Howe. A very full and disturbed mind prevented, as I had forethought, my explaining myself as I wished, therefore after a most friendly reception, and a short stay, I left with his Lordship a letter, having first barely signified that it was not in my power to accept the kind offer made me. It was as follows :

“ 6th February, 1776.

“ MY LORD,

“ All who know me particularly must know, as I flatter myself your Lordship has reason to believe, that it has ever been my particular wish to serve under your Lordship's command. My strong attachment to the navy is well known. To my father it has appeared matter of some dissatisfaction, inso-much that he has more than once or twice thrown temptations in my view, which, in his opinion were far more than sufficient for prevailing with a prudent man to quit the service, even though possessed of higher rank than that which I hold.

“ I may add to this, that neither a very ill state of health for six years past, nor at one particular time, the objections to my profession by one on whom depended my forming a connection of the most interesting nature, have been sufficient to make me bear the thoughts of quitting it. It has been also my determination and my pride never to ask for promotion ; but to wait till I might receive

it on such terms as to make it a real honour. I have reason to believe that more than once I might have had it by asking for. And now, that your Lordship's offer of a lieutenancy in your ship has put it in my power to gratify my leading wish, with the fairest prospect of the rest being crowned with success, greatly facilitate the accomplishing of that private plan which is most near my heart, yet, nevertheless, I find myself under the painful necessity of sacrificing in one moment all these pleasing views, by declining to accept your Lordship's most kind offer ; but not, my Lord, without much gratitude, and a due sense of the distinction with which I have on this occasion been honoured.

‘ It is due both to your Lordship and myself to mention what are my real motives to this conduct, in order that it may not be attributed to any other.

‘ Your Lordship will make candid allowances for my weakness, provided you may think me in error ; but thinking as I do on the most unhappy contest between this kingdom and her colonies, it would be a desertion from my principles (which I am sure your Lordship would not approve of) were I to put myself in a situation that might probably cause me to act a hostile part against them. I have reason to suspect that, on this subject, my opinions are somewhat singular ; but still, such as they are, they are opinions which much reflection and a sincere endeavour to arrive at the truth

have given birth to, and as I am firmly persuaded without hasty prejudices, because there was a bias in my mind against the American cause, until I applied myself to the investigating of it.

‘As I cannot at present help holding the opinions I do, and esteeming it my duty to act up to them, so I respect every man who, from principle, acts a different part, after having taken pains suitable to the greatness of the occasion to inform his judgment.

‘I most ardently wish and pray that your Lordship’s mediation may restore tranquillity and welfare on both sides of the Atlantic; and that you may long live to taste the supreme earthly felicity of having saved your country.

‘I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the greatest deference and esteem,

‘My Lord,

‘Your Lordship’s very much obliged

‘and most obedient Servant,

‘JOHN CARTWRIGHT.’

“Three days afterwards I sent him ‘American Independence’, with a note informing him that I was the author of it, and if I could suppose that he would think it worth his perusal, it would account for the part I had acted.—The following is his Lordship’s answer :

‘Grafton-street, February 12, 1776.

‘Lord Howe presents his compliments to Mr. Cartwright.—He is favoured with the pamphlet

referred to in his note of the 9th.—He thinks opinions in politics, on points of such national moment as the differences subsisting between England and America, are to be treated like opinions in religion, whereon he would leave every one at liberty to regulate his conduct by those ideas which he had adopted upon due reflection and enquiry;—being persuaded that men of character will ever act, in both cases alike, upon principles that do them honour, he must respect those of Mr. Cartwright too much to be desirous of lessening his satisfaction in the A, were he even qualified for such an undertaking.’

“ Having given you our correspondence [continues Mr. C.] thus far, I have only time to thank you for your truly kind answer to my letter of the fifth instant, and to conclude myself,” &c.

To the note contained in the foregoing letter, Major Cartwright replied as follows :

“ 15th February, 1776.

“ Mr. Cartwright was duly honoured with Lord Howe’s note of the 12th, to which he had then no thought of making a reply, although not untouched by the remark at the close of it. But a considerable uneasiness continuing to dwell on his mind, in consequence of an apprehension that Lord Howe had misinterpreted his motive for sending the pamphlet, and not being conscious of any presumptuous intention in so doing, he once more takes the liberty of intruding upon his Lord-

ship's time for a few moments, sensible as he must be how precious it is at this period, in order to give him what his feelings tell him is a farther necessary explanation.

“ Having made to Lord Howe a simple declaration of facts, and a general one of his principles in respect of American politics, he still laboured under a dissatisfaction of mind, lest his Lordship might be led to attribute them to any cause which might ever so obliquely reflect upon his honour. Hence he was induced to present Lord Howe with the whole grounds of them ; hoping that at some leisure time, he might indulge him with a perusal of them : and though he could not meet with any other information there, yet he flattered himself the pamphlet would inform his Lordship, that the writer's errors (if such he laboured under) lay in his reasonings, and not in his heart.

“ It was this conviction he wished to impress on Lord Howe's mind, and upon this he presumed, but upon nothing more.

“ He should have saved both himself and Lord Howe the trouble of every explanation, had not his Lordship's good opinion been; in his estimation, of some importance ; and as it was, he should have contented himself with merely referring to the title of the pamphlet, had he not, for the reasons assigned, thought it more than probable his Lordship might never have read it, for he does not think it can be expected of any man to read longer on a subject than till he is master of it.

“ Mr. Cartwright has the satisfaction to agree entirely with Lord Howe, respecting that religious and political liberty he wishes every one to enjoy ; but he doubts not his Lordship will also think with him, that a very material difference is to be made between those two kinds of liberty, and that at particular seasons it is of far greater importance to society that a man’s creed should be right in politics than in religion. His errors in one case will only affect his own welfare ; whereas in the other they may produce the worst effects to his country. And Mr. Cartwright cannot help saying, that the satisfaction he finds in his present principles, arises wholly from a consciousness that, to the best of his judgment, they are founded in truth. As soon as the contrary shall be made appear to him, it will be a greater satisfaction to him to abandon them, and he will always hold himself indebted to that man who shall turn him from error to rectitude.

“ It is his sincere hope that no disagreement in speculative opinions between Lord Howe and himself, may diminish that portion of his Lordship’s regard, of which he flattered himself he was possessed : and, notwithstanding his particular opinions at this time prevent his attending his Lordship upon service, yet he hopes that such a change in public affairs may soon take place, as to remove these obstacles, and enable him when occasion offers, to serve under his Lordship’s command. He begs leave to repeat his ardent wishes

for Lord Howe's success in restoring harmony and prosperity to the state and its colonies, and that a long continuance of life and health may afford his Lordship the full enjoyment of so enviable a condition as he must stand in upon such an event."

To this note Lord Howe replied on the following day:

" Lord Howe having answered Mr. Cartwright's note among the number of twenty-four letters of compliment or of business which he had to acknowledge the same day, he cannot call to mind the particular passages which appear to have affected Mr. Cartwright, but he is very sure nothing was intended to be expressed in his answer, to occasion the uneasiness Mr. Cartwright describes, because he had no such sentiments in his mind, nor did he see any motive for altering his opinion of Mr. Cartwright, whose friendship he wishes to retain for [notwithstanding] any difference of principle on the American contest which he may be supposed to cherish. He therefore hopes that all conjectures of that nature will no longer subsist."

Before quitting this subject it may not be improper to mention, that the writer of these Memoirs having inquired of Major Cartwright whether it were true that he had received offers of command in the American navy, he replied in

these terms : “ I believe I might have had a command of some importance had such been my wish, but I told my American friends, Joseph Wharton among others, who wished to persuade me to enter the service of the United States, that though I would never consent to bear arms against the liberties of America, I considered that nothing could absolve a man from the duty he owed his own country, and that I would stick by the old ship as long as there was a plank of her above water.”*

It is also necessary to observe, that in consequence of his rejection of the personal offers of Lord Howe, it has been erroneously supposed that he relinquished altogether the naval profession ; whereas it is well known to his friends that he was ready to accept any employment which the service of his country required ; and that so late as his promotion at the jubilee, when in the seventieth year of his age, he remarked, that he did not then consider himself too old to be useful in his nautical capacity.

In July, 1776, the freedom of the town of Nottingham was presented to him, of which, in a letter to Miss D—, he says, “ you will readily believe it was not less acceptable to me, in its being presented at the same time to Sir George Savile, and that professedly for his noble political character.”

* The writer has been informed that a place in America was called after Major Cartwright, but in what part of the United States she is entirely ignorant.

In this year Major Cartwright wrote his earliest work on the subject of reform in Parliament; and except some tracts by the late Earl Stanhope*, it is believed to be the earliest ever expressly published on that subject: and from this time we may consider him as more or less devoted to the object of obtaining annual parliaments† and universal suffrage.

In this work, entitled, "Take your Choice," to which he afterwards, in a second edition, prefixed that of "The Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated," he lays down equal representation as a right, and annual election as a security for the preservation of that right.

At this time the only political distinction was between Whigs and Tories; of whom it has since been said, that the latter believed in the divine right of kings, and the former in the divine right of noblemen and gentlemen. His principles had

* "Though a younger man than yourself, I am your *senior* in reform. You first published on that subject in 1776, I published in 1774."—Letter of Lord Stanhope to J. Cartwright, Esq. 17th Dec. 1815.

† "As to Parliaments," says Swift, in a letter to Pope in the year 1721, "I adored the wisdom of that gothic institution which made them annual: and I was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation until that antient law were restored among us. For who sees not, that while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the ministry and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts, to the manifest danger of liberty? Which traffic would neither answer the design nor expense, if parliaments met every year."

- at first naturally brought him into association with the Whigs; but from his earliest attention to the subject, he conceived that he detected that party spirit by which many of them were actuated; and even among the most virtuous, an unwillingness to trust the people, or to commit themselves by any specific plan of reform. If he could conscientiously have confined himself within the limits of Whig principles, it is not to be doubted that he would have been gladly hailed as a valuable addition to a party, with many of whose leading members he was at that time in habits of great intimacy; which, if necessary, might be proved by a variety of letters still in existence.

Having communicated his ideas to a nobleman of high rank, who had long been his personal friend, he was favoured by him, in return, with some observations, which, if they failed to convince by their strength of argument, doubtless commanded his respect by their candour.

“ However”, says he, “ we may please ourselves with the idea of restoring old or conferring new rights on the people at large, we should not delude ourselves so far as to forget that our object is to make use of them for our own purposes, purposes certainly extremely praiseworthy, and such as no man need scruple to avow; but still the truth is, that we wish to give the power to those in whom we can confide.

“ A more desirable, a more meritorious, a greater or more necessary object cannot be held up to view

than that of restoring independence to the House of Commons; the means of attaining it seems to be the point in question: and unless some mode of lessening the influence of the Crown can first be determined on, I should very much fear that annual parliaments would rather tend to increase that influence, and weaken, and in the end annihilate the power of individuals to resist it.

“ I should also be much inclined to doubt whether the first and only meritorious description of indigent persons would be desirous of accepting the proffered boon, and I am more than satisfied of the very weighty objections which would occur to sober people in the manufacturing towns, while I feel the difficulty of drawing the line without controverting a point which has brought on the authors of the revolution of 1688 some occasional blame, in which I am free to own I even now feel myself involved, and venture to suspect that had you been born, times and circumstances considered, you yourself would have incurred your share of censure upon the same account.”

It has been often urged as an argument against universal suffrage, that it would lead to the admission of persons into the House of Commons drawn from the lowest classes of society, whose want of education would render them unfit to associate with gentlemen.

Major C. always considered this objection as fallacious; his experience of the lower orders led him to remark that they preferred confiding their

interests to persons of more consideration than themselves, and that they generally evinced a jealous dislike to raise those of their own standing in society to stations of importance.

This opinion has been confirmed since his death in a very remarkable manner, by the rejection, in a large institution of working mechanics, of one of their own number who was proposed as secretary. Though equal in knowledge and ability to his competitors, the bulk of the mechanics preferred electing another person who was their superior in birth and situation in life.

As the remainder of Major Cartwright's life must now be considered almost wholly in a political light, and as most of his exertions tended more or less to the attainment of one object, we shall make a few remarks on the outset of his career as a public character, and then, as we proceed in the narrative, leave his conduct and opinions to speak for themselves.

The subject of a Radical Reform of Parliament is now fully before the public, and its discussion will not be farther introduced into these pages, than as it was connected with the character of its distinguished and consistent advocate,—with him from whom others have departed, but who, if we may be allowed the expression, never departed from himself.

He was at this time 37 years of age, and his views on political subjects could neither be placed to the account of youthful enthusiasm, nor be then

liable to the reproach so often afterwards levelled at him, of being the offspring of dotage.

They were adopted after much attentive reading and mature reflection by one peculiarly fitted to form a correct judgment of the means most likely to produce an improved state of society.

He was not a mere student, in whom classical education might have fostered a blind partiality for the republican institutions of Greece and Rome, but a man who had lived and acted in the world, and had mixed with persons of various professions and in all ranks of life *. Above all, he was not a disappointed, or a needy adventurer; and the unwearied perseverance with which, during the whole of his exertions, he exhorted those whom he thought better qualified than himself to take the lead, may well acquit him from the charge of vanity or ambition.

And here it is hoped that it may be thought excusable to intrude in one only instance on the

* The character of the American patriot, Samuel Adams, as given in the Life of Otis, is so applicable to that of Major Cartwright, that it might be supposed to have been written for him. —“ The motives by which he was actuated, were not a sudden ebullition of temper, nor a transient impulse of resentment; but they were deliberate, methodical, and unyielding. There was no pause, no hesitation, no despondency; every day and every hour was employed in some contribution towards the main design, if not in action, in writing; if not with the pen, in conversation; if not in talking, in meditation. * * *

“ With this unrelenting and austere spirit, there was nothing ferocious, or gloomy, or arrogant, in his demeanor. His aspect was mild, dignified and gentlemanly.”—Life of Otis, p. 276.

sacred privacy of the closet, by introducing a prayer found among the private papers of this devoted patriot, which marks so strongly the spirit in which he dedicated himself to his country, that it cannot be better introduced than in this place :—

“ Suffer, O Lord, this much offending nation . to be reclaimed from its guilt and recalled to a knowledge of the things which belong to its peace. It hath been equally regardless of thy law and its own liberty. It is hurrying to destruction, and knows not what it does. Give me and others, O Father of mercies, understanding, and strength, and zeal to stand in the gap between its offences and thy wrath ; between its errors and its destruction ; let our labours and anxieties, and let the prayers of all virtuous persons plead in its behalf, and be thou intreated in its favour.

“ Together with our usefulness let our humility increase ; for with thee alone, O Lord, is all power and goodness. The wisdom of the wisest without thee is foolishness : the strength of the strongest is of no account ; but those who are ordained to do thy will shall have power from above. Let my faith in Christ be imputed to me for righteousness, and let me be kept continually in mind of his spotless and laborious life while on earth, and of thine and his unspeakable affection for the whole race of men, and may he make intercession for me at thy throne !”

In speaking of Major Cartwright's general style of argumentative composition, it must be confessed

that the matter is occasionally diffuse, and the manner desultory, especially in his earlier works. This may, perhaps, be partly attributed to the want of that early training of the understanding which a classical education bestows; a training which, as we have remarked in another place, was much regretted by himself, and partly to that redundancy of zeal, which led him, like the divines of former days, to wish that his readers should participate largely in those stores of information, with which his own mind was so fully imbued.

In one respect, however, his ignorance of the learned languages may have been an advantage; for the correctness and purity of his English has found admirers even among those critics, by whom his opinions are disputed; and though, in many of his works, the error already noticed is observable, yet as he advanced in life, his style became more pithy and compressed; and some of his latest writings, when upwards of eighty, are acknowledged to be his best.

If the writer of these memoirs may venture to introduce an opinion, it appears to her that, in short compositions, or in letters written on the spur of the moment, and under the influence of sudden feeling, his expressions not only bore the impress of an exalted mind, but were remarkable for their force and dignified simplicity.

It is also worthy of notice, that though his usual style was peculiar, and easily to be distinguished by those who were accustomed to it, yet when giving to others the gratuitous assistance of his pen,

• an assistance which he was always ready to bestow, he could so vary his mode of expression, as to adapt it entirely to the use of those for whom it was employed.

In order to save repetition, the fundamental principle of his first work on reform shall be here extracted, as the principle, upon which his political conduct was founded, and of which his subsequent works were only such amplifications or illustrations, as the circumstances of the times seemed to him to require.

“ The all-wise Creator hath likewise made men equal, as well as free ; they are all of one flesh, and cast in one mould. There are given to them the same senses, feelings, and affections, to inform and to influence ; the same passions to actuate, the same reason to guide, the same moral principle to restrain, and the same free will to determine all alike.

“ There are, therefore, no distinctions to be made among men, as just causes for the elevation of some above the rest, prior to mutual agreement. How much soever any individual may be qualified for, or deserve any elevation, he hath no right to it till it be conferred on him by his fellows. There is, perhaps, more occasion to advert to this distinction between desert and authority, obvious as it is, than may be commonly imagined, as all elevation depends upon common consent ; so it may, consequently, whenever found inconsistent with the common good, be by common consent abolished.

Hence we find that it is liberty, and not dominion, which is held by divine right.”—P. 3. •

“ It is confessed by foreigners, and boasted by Englishmen, that our constitution of government is the best that hath ever yet been framed by human wisdom. Most of the causes which contribute towards this superior excellence, are obvious to but slight observers ; but, if I mistake not, there is one particular cause perceived only by the more contemplative, to which it is owing in a supereminent degree. I mean that perfect harmony and correspondence which our constitution of government, in its genuine spirit and purity, holds with the great constitution of moral government, called the law of nature. The excellence of our common law cannot be more strongly expressed than by its well-known definition of being the perfection of human reason. The constitution is a frame of government coëval with, erected upon, and regulated by the spirit of the common law of England. It may consequently be defined to be a government agreeable to the perfection of human reason.”—P. 10.

“ By perfect, I do not mean that which it shall be impossible to pervert ; that which fools cannot depart from, nor knaves abuse, and which shall necessarily be exclusive of evil ; but I mean that which is not necessarily introductive of evil. I believe we may venture to call the law of nature and Providence a perfect institution ; yet we see it does not necessarily exclude evil, nor necessitate men to be healthy, wise, or virtuous.”—P. 17.

“ Perhaps the figurative expression of body politic may have contributed much to the unphilosophical language commonly used, with regard to the supposed certainty that every state, like a human body, must necessarily perish through infirmities and old age, which I deny: I grant indeed that the best may die of diseases, and that it is not proof against suicide.”—P.19.

“ Though a man should have neither lands, nor gold, nor herds, nor flocks; yet he may have parents and kindred, he may possess a wife and an offspring to be solicitous for. He hath also by birthright a property in the English Constitution: which, if not unworthy such a blessing, will be more dear to him than would be many acres of the soil without it.

“ These are all great stakes to have at risk; and we must have odd notions of justice, if we do not allow that they give him an undoubted right to share in the choice of those trustees, into whose keeping and protection they are to be committed.”—P.20.

“ I would not hastily dissent from a received opinion, especially one supported by great authorities; but yet my own conceptions of truth oblige me to believe, that personality is the sole foundation of the right of being represented*;

* Lord John Russell in his *Essay on the History of the English Constitution*, (2d Edition, p. 331,) erroneously states, that “ Dr. Jebb, and *after him* Mr. Cartwright, broached the theory of personal representation.” But we have already seen that

and that property has, in reality, nothing to do in the case. The property of any one, be it more, or be it less, is totally involved in the man. As belonging to him and to his peace, it is a very fit object^a of the attention of his representative in parliament, but it contributes nothing to his right of having that representation.”—P. 22.

“Nor are the just pleas of the man exhausted. That which I am going to mention, though last, is not the least. He takes his constant chance on a ballot, which is equivalent to taking his regular turn to serve his country, as one of its military representatives in the militia; and an important service it is.

“There he becomes subject to all the restraint, the labours, and severities of military duty and discipline; and in case of necessity, must be the shield of his country, and expose his life in battle for its defence. How comes he to be subjected to such a condition?

“If it be by laws enacted by men, in whose election he had no voice, he is a slave.”—P. 27.

“Whenever the first principle of any reasoning is false, we are navigating without a compass, and

Major Cartwright's first tract on this subject was published in 1776, whereas it appears in Dr. Disney's life of Jebb, Vol. I., p. 144, that the warm affection which Dr. Jebb had for the civil liberties of mankind, and the share he was disposed to take in their support, *first* appeared before the public eye, in an address to the freeholders of Middlesex, December 20, 1779; and be it also remarked, that Dr. Jebb continually refers to this plan of reform as “Major Cartwright's system.”

- can have no criterion of rectitude as we go along, but must be for ever liable to error and abuse. Had we never departed from the true principle of considering every member of the community as a free man, we had done right. But when we would once form an arbitrary definition of freedom, who shall say what it ought to be? Ought freedom rather to be annexed to forty pence, or forty shillings, or forty pounds per annum? Or why not to four hundred or four thousand? But indeed, so long as money is to be the measure of it, it will be impossible to know who ought or who ought not to be free. According to my apprehension, we might as well make the possession of forty shillings per annum, the proof of a man's being rational, as of his being free. There is just as much sense in one as the other."—P. 37.

“ After all, we cannot alas! do more than prove our propositions, and lay down a plan for the undertaking, in theory.

“ My fellow-citizens must assist in carrying it into practice. And to the free advocates for their rights and liberties in parliament, it belongs to take the lead. Should our proof be clearly made out, it will afford those gentlemen the best of all opportunities of proving their public integrity beyond a doubt. This I surely need not tell them, is the only thing wanting towards their obtaining the entire confidence and support of the people; in effecting this or any other necessary reformation in our government.”—P. 62.

“ The more I have myself contemplated the subject, and drawn comparisons between parliaments of different durations, the more confirmed have I always been in giving the preference to an annual one, provided it were fairly chosen. Indeed I never could arrive at any other satisfactory conclusion ; but here I find every satisfaction which the case requires or admits of.”—P. 84.

“ Satisfied as I am at present of the wisdom of recurring to annual parliaments, I shall very readily change that sentiment in favour of triennial, or even septennial ones, provided any one will convince me that either of them is entitled to a preference. After all our differences in opinion, it is truth alone that can do us an essential service.”—P. 85.

“ I only agree with a very great number of the best and wisest men of the age, when I say that except parliamentary prostitution be done clean away, the liberties of this country have not long to exist.—I have endeavoured to do the duty of a citizen, by attempting to point out the ready means of effecting this great purpose. My fellow-citizens must judge how far I have succeeded, and determine for themselves whether they will neglect them, and sink into slavery, or adopt them and be free. May that Being who gave us our freedom inspire us with a due sense of so transcendent a blessing, and enable us to transmit it unimpaired to our posterity !”—P. 87.

Such were the principles of the author's politi-

cal creed, as laid down in his earliest work on parliamentary reform, and this was also at that time the political creed of many persons distinguished either by their talents and respectability, or by their rank in life.

“ TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

“ Newington Green, April 2, 1776,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I return to you with this the manuscript which you were so good as to put into my hands. I communicated it to Lord Shelburne together with what you said concerning it in your letter. He has read it, and, I believe, approves the proposal it contains. The public, he says, has a right to expect that the leaders of opposition should hold forth to them some public objects which they will bind themselves to do all they can to gain; nor would he be backward in uniting with any respectable men in doing this. Indeed, his conduct, as far as I am acquainted with it, has always shewn this to be true. I am, however, afraid that it will not be easy to get any number of great men, though favourable in their opinions to such a scheme as yours, to be active and zealous in carrying it into execution; nor have I much hope that any great reformation will take place in this country till some calamity comes that shall make us feel more, and awaken us more to reflection.

“ I have now been settled for some time at Newington Green, where my home is; and being less

hurried than in London, I feel myself better and happier. Should you ever come this way I shall be obliged to you for calling. I am always at home on Friday in the afternoon. With sincere respect and the best wishes,

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your most obedient and humble Servant,

“ RICHARD PRICE.”

(FROM THE SAME.)

“ Newington Green, November 27, 1776.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I cannot help writing to you these few lines to thank you for your last letter, and for the two copies of your pamphlet which have been sent me. I heartily wish it may be attended to; and I am glad to find that it is likely to come to a second edition. I think it fitted to do good; and I have heard it commended by such of my acquaintance as have read it. I endeavour to recommend it to those I converse with. I cannot recollect what I meant when I said in my former letter, that it had a tendency to remove some of the principal objections to short parliaments and an adequate representation. I think it has a great tendency to do this; particularly, the objection to adequate representation taken from its impracticability in the present circumstances of the nation. Many [objections] have been urged against short parliaments, but they are not in my opinion of

great weight. The salvation of the kingdom indeed depends on a reformation of parliament.

“ My pamphlet will not, I am afraid, be out of the press till January. I shall send it to you as soon as there are any copies ready. Though I have hitherto succeeded much beyond my expectations, I am full of fears about the publication I have in view, sensible of the caprice of the public. I know my intentions to be good; and I am happy in the consciousness of endeavouring to promote a cause I think important and sacred.

“ There has been no particular news from America since the account of taking New York. The action on Lake Champlain I do not think of great consequence. The army will be obliged to return to Montreal and Quebec; and it has, I believe, suffered a good deal by sickness and the want of proper provisions. I feel myself very anxious, and I am waiting with fear and trembling for the next news from New York. Wishing you health and spirits and all possible happiness,

“ I am, with much respect,

“ Your very humble Servant,

“ RICHARD PRICE.”

“ TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

“ London, Tuesday, November 5, 1776.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ The sense I have of your kind attention in the directions you have given to Mr. Almon greatly adds to the impatience I feel for his speedy

compliance with them ; and I can assure you that it is with no small difficulty that I have so far suppressed it as not to inquire of him for this mark of your confidence and regard.

“ Till the object of your lucubrations is in some measure accomplished, it is in vain to hope for any such alteration as the friends of the constitution must wish, and I question much whether it might not be adviseable for every honest and virtuous member of this body entirely to withdraw himself from an attendance on measures which it is not in his power to prevent, lest he partake of the too general pollution, or be confounded with the majority of that corrupted mass. This possibly may be one means of bringing the nation to a recollection of the precipice on which it stands, and of preparing it towards a more favourable occasion. But I will not forestall the pleasure I am certain of deriving from the ideas you are so good as to communicate to me upon the subject, and most heartily concur with your correspondent where he forbids a true lover of his country ever to despair. Permit me to assure you that,

“ I am, with very sincere regard and esteem,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your very faithful friend,

“ and humble Servant,

“ PORTLAND.”

It was in consequence of the publication of “ Take your Choice,” that its author became ac-

quainted with Charles Duke of Richmond. Expostulating with the then opposition in terms of great earnestness, he says (page 42) :

“ That man amongst the opposition to the present ruinous men and measures of the court, who shall not immediately pledge himself to the public by the most explicit declarations, and the most sacred assurances to exert himself to the utmost of his power and abilities, and perpetually, so long as he shall live, in attempting to bring about a thorough and complete reformation ; and shall not instantly set about it, in preference to every other consideration, is, in my humble opinion, nothing better than a factious demagogue, who cares not that his country sink in the pit of perdition, so long as he can but hope to come in for a share of power and plunder.”

With the book in his pocket, and the offensive passage turned down, the Duke introduced himself to the author, complaining vehemently of the uncharitableness and injustice of doubting the integrity of men not yet tried. .

The conversation which ensued, and which lasted several hours, had a contrary effect from that generally produced by controversial disputes, for it brought these candid politicians to a complete understanding of each other's sentiments : they parted mutually satisfied, and this singular interview was the origin of their subsequent friendship and cor-

respondence. It is probable that the Duke had previously entertained an opinion, which has since, either from real or affected ignorance, been often promulgated respecting the manners and character of our reformer; who, because he was a man of uncompromising principles in his writings and in his actions, was supposed to be necessarily stern and dogmatical in private life.

Perhaps there never was an instance in one who felt so deeply, of so much calmness, gentleness, and courtesy, as were exhibited in the social habits of Major Cartwright.

His acquaintance with the excellent Granville Sharp has been already alluded to in a former letter. In one, dated 25th January, 1777, he speaks of him again as "a man of singular good sense, active worth, and piety, which you will perceive by various works of his, which I will one day shew you. They are all presents from himself, and as such I esteem them to be invaluable. They breathe nothing but the purest and most genuine love of mankind, a generous ardour in the sacred cause of public freedom, and a truly Christian faith, hope, and charity."

On the 2d of April, 1777, Major Cartwright presented to the King at the levee an address, recommending peace with America, and proposing the union before suggested in his tract entitled "American Independence."

His motives for presenting this address are fully explained in the following confidential epistle to

Miss D., dated 24th March, 1777:—" I hope to be able to leave town some time next week, but cannot as yet be certain. As some of my thoughts are to be communicated to his Majesty, and upon a matter of no small moment, I know not whether I shall be able to absent myself or not. What I now allude to is not the book, but something in manuscript. I heartily wish his Majesty may be wise enough and good enough to pay attention to it, as I am very certain he would find it for his happiness and peace. Nothing of this must transpire at present, as I mean first to consult Lord Dartmouth upon it. I think he will approve of my ideas. If so, I hope that he may influence Lord North, and they together the King. When you shall know the particulars, I am sure you will not wonder at the anxiety I have had about it, nor condemn me for labouring so earnestly on the occasion. You would allow me to steal a little, even from my health, for the forwarding such a business. It will at all events ease my own mind, to think that I have left no step untaken, no labour neglected, towards the accomplishing of my designs for rendering an essential service to the public, and putting a stop to the calamities of war. As Providence frequently brings about the greatest events by the weakest instruments, I am not discouraged by my own insignificance; the mind of the King may be blinded, and his heart impenetrable to the advice of the wisest counsellors; and yet, if the Ruler of Hearts shall think proper to prepare him for it, he may receive instruction from the mouth

of a child : we are no judges of what is possible or impossible in these matters : in the pursuit of laudable objects, and the execution of indispensable duties, we are to do the best in our power, and leave the event to Providence. This ought to be a general answer to those who endeavour to discourage all great attempts against the current of public vices and fashionable habits. ‘Swim with the stream’, is the doctrine of indolence and indifference ; and in dissipated and vicious times, it is the doctrine too of idleness and vice. Luther, in his day, was treated as a visionary, a washer of blackamoors white, a madman ; but it is to Luther we owe our religious liberty. And it is a mistake to imagine that the generous opposers of imposition and corruption, disquiet themselves in vain, or make their lives uncomfortable. When, indeed, they are contentious or turbulent on wrong principles, they are themselves impostors, and will be sure to disquiet themselves without a hope of peace or enjoyment. It is not so with those who act on right principles. Seeing themselves neglected or ridiculed, finding themselves foiled in all their attempts, and feeling the sacrifices they make to their duty, they are yet happy in themselves ; they enjoy the tranquillity within, and they taste the supreme of all earthly delights, the love and esteem of the virtuous.”

It is not surprising that such a mind as is here laid open, should have disregarded and despised all the contempt and obloquy subsequently thrown

upon his character, his understanding, and his motives; or that, during his long career, which extended forty-seven years beyond the period now under consideration, he invariably preserved that serenity of mind, which the world, with all its vanities, can neither give nor take away.

In 1777 was published a second edition of "Take your Choice", which was entitled "The Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated."

A letter from Major Cartwright to Lord Abingdon was published in this year, and though he endeavoured to controvert some of his Lordship's opinions in it, it appears to have led in the sequel to an acquaintance and friendly intercourse between the parties.

Early in this year the following letters passed between the subject of these Memoirs and Mr. Burke:

" TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

" SIR,

" As I believe I have been formerly made known to you by name (by my friend Captain King of the navy*), I am the less solicitous of seeking a regular introduction to you. I believe,

* In a letter dated the 30th of May 1775, Major Cartwright says, "I had yesterday a letter from my friend Captain King. He tells me that gentleman knowing he was acquainted with the writer of 'American Independence,' begged he would make him acquainted with me."

too, that any rational proposal for serving the public, will always furnish a sufficient apology for any one who shall use the liberty of a self-introduction to Mr. Burke. I wish, Sir, very much to have the honour of consulting you on a matter of importance. I would gladly offer to your consideration a measure, to which it is generally understood your sentiments have not been favourable : but be it as it may, I am persuaded, Sir, you will upon mature deliberation approve of it ; because its rectitude can, I apprehend, be ascertained, and its expediency, I should hope, could not admit of doubt. The enclosed pamphlet, of which a second edition is wanted to complete the proofs, will convey to you so much of my sentiments as it has yet been convenient to make public. The opinions on the subject which are attributed to you, are those in general I believe of that party in which your political connexions have been more particularly formed. To a man who had attached himself to a set of men he knew not why, or for a worse cause, it might be idle to offer any arguments which tended to overturn their favourite tenets : but, Sir, to one who joins that party which he thinks the right one, whose abilities must give him a leading part in whatever party he espouses, and whose liberality of sentiment and integrity of character also insure his being open to conviction, and that his convictions will ever determine his conduct, it is not a fruitless attempt to point out errors either in principle or in measures. The

greatest and best are liable to errors and oversights, which their inferiors from the particular course of inquiry, can sometimes point out, and they are ever most ready to see and to depart from them. The appearances of impracticability attending the proposal of the pamphlet are mere appearances, for I am convinced it can be made apparent that the design, if properly planned by a small number of those persons to whom the reflecting part of the nation look up for deliverance, in all human probability could not fail.

“ Being well assured that the confidence I now or hereafter may repose, will not expose me to any other than your own remarks, whether or not you and I should finally meet in our opinions,

“ I remain, Sir,

“ With much deference and respect,

“ Your obedient Servant,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ SIR,

“ I am much obliged to my friend Mr. King of the navy, for his kindness on many occasions, but on none more than his being the means of procuring me the honour of your acquaintance. I shall always receive with great docility and thankfulness any instruction relative to my public or private duty; and whenever you will be so good to favour me with a visit, I shall be glad to hear you on the subject of your book, which I have read without knowing it to be yours. I ever had

in very high esteem your integrity and abilities. As to those friends with whom I have generally the satisfaction of acting, I do not know whether their sentiments agree with mine on the subject of your book, or not; or whether they differ more from your opinions than any other description of men. It is natural that great variety of opinions should be entertained upon all speculative ideas for the improvement of the constitution. I am sure I am for my scanty measure of understanding, as great a friend to such improvements when they appear to me such, as any man can be; and when others see more than I do, if I cannot always follow, I never fail to admire and esteem them.

“ I have the honour to be, with much regard,

“ Sir,

“ Your most faithful obedient Servant,

“ EDMUND BURKE.

“ P. S.—Whenever you inform me of the morning it will suit you to call here, I shall wait for you with great pleasure.”

What was the result of this projected conference, or how long any intimacy subsisted between these gentlemen, the writer is ignorant, but it is probable, from the great dissimilarity of character, that it was not of long duration. It is well known that mere accidental circumstances had at that time placed Mr. Burke in communion with the Whigs, and that the strong bias of his mind led him afterwards to adopt and to profess those Tory opinions

which were probably in some measure inherent in his nature.

“ TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

“ 27th Feb. 1777.

“ MY LORD,

“ You so very readily caught all my ideas during the short conference I had yesterday the honour of holding with your Lordship, that it is not without some hesitation I venture to say any thing farther upon what I took the liberty of referring to your consideration. The importance however of the last point I spoke to is such, that I should feel to have neglected a duty, were I not to address a few words more to your Lordship on the subject. You seem, my Lord, to fear that it will not be practicable to form the party which we both hold to be wanting, and the only thing that is wanting towards carrying into execution the proposed plan. Now, I am confident, my Lord, and I have reason for saying so, that your Lordship's example, in declaring at once for some certain specific rights of the people, as a basis for some real substantial good to be contended for, would be of all others the readiest means to effect the very union we wish for. Some one person must be the first to make such an explicit declaration ; and to him, whoever he shall be, the first and chief honours of the consequent measures will redound. It gave me inexpressible happiness to find my own sentiments, both on the necessity and the practicability (so far as relates to the people) of a reformation in

the sad system of corruption and misgovernment which at present prevails, so fully justified and supported by those of your Lordship : and no less, in that your Lordship should point to the same means in general, as those in which I solely rely for that reformation. A party then, to take the lead in this great but yet easy work is, it seems, all that is wanting. This is the very event I have wished to make myself, in all humility, an instrument in bringing about. Your Lordship's frankness of sentiment and great readiness to meet other respectable men upon this ground, have convinced me that it may be effected. But should other men of first rate consequence decline to join in so noble an undertaking, a sufficient party for the purpose may be formed without them. Whether the people shall receive a plan for restoring to them liberty and security from many or from a few, from several or from one, will to them be very immaterial. The plan, and a pledge of fidelity for carrying it into execution with their assistance, are all they want. One leader of dignity were as good to them as a thousand. Not but that a respectable body of such leaders would be useful to each other, in dividing the labour, and in expediting the work. Their example and their influence would doubtless have its weight ; and the fewer there should be left out of the party, the fewer clogs would hang upon the wheels of the undertaking. Had your Lordship, like myself, nothing else at this time to think of, but the means of uniting such a party, I am sure, my Lord, I

should not need to suggest to you, that all men who are actuated by a latent wish to obtain power without any constitutional limitation in favour of the people's liberty, will always be evasive and backward in subscribing to, or declaring for, any plain test of their principles; and will keep as long as they can to general indefinite professions: nor should I need either to suggest that a fair and honest declaration on the part of any one whose rank and consequence must make him a formidable rival, would instantly oblige them to throw aside the cloak of false patriotism, and to act an equally fair and manly part, or for ever to resign all hope of public confidence. Your Lordship's penetration hath discovered the only possible means of obtaining and securing, at this juncture, the confidence of the nation; and I need not say that your magnanimity in declaring your readiness to pledge yourself to the people on essential points, will ensure to your Lordship not only that confidence, but likewise their warmest gratitude and affection. Hence, my Lord, I wish to propose it to your consideration, whether your express declaration in favour of the people's legislative rights as stated in the paper which I have the honour to enclose (or otherwise as truth and justice shall dictate), and that you would be ready, in conjunction with others who might think fit to subscribe to the same, to stand forth in order to vindicate and to recover as much as are lost of these rights; whether these declarations, I say, to be properly communicated

or hinted to other considerable men, would not draw together and unite a party for the purpose sooner than a thousand previous measures of negotiation. Indeed, my Lord, I must needs think it would be decisive. Every intelligent man will see, and your Lordship expressed a similar opinion, that the people, properly led must succeed. This being so obvious, your Lordship's declarations once made, other great men would be glad to join you, in order to share the certain popularity, honour and authority which must ultimately be conferred upon those who should be the saviours of their country.

“I take up a great deal of your Lordship's time. In that respect I am truly sorry to obtrude upon you so long a letter ; but I must solicit a few moments' farther indulgence. The cause is a great one, and I am sure I have reason to think that it hath no where a truer friend than in your Lordship.

“If I did not misunderstand you my Lord, yesterday, with regard to the something which it is necessary should speedily be done, you seemed to conceive that there were various means by which the constitution of this country might be restored to a state of full freedom and security. If I have mistaken your Lordship's meaning, I beg pardon ; but if, my Lord, it was as I understood it to be, I would, with much deference, beg leave to say, I have cause for believing that be those various means what they may, they must all depend upon

one previous step, without which it will be impossible to carry any other into effect to any good or lasting purpose. That one previous step is to restore independency to the House of Commons, by means of re-instating the whole of the commonalty in the possession of their pilfered rights, of an equal representation (in the full sense of those words), and of an annual Parliament. That these are at this day the rights of the people, notwithstanding certain Acts of Parliament, I am inclined to hope is, in a new edition of my pamphlet now in the press, clearly demonstrated by very plain but undeniable arguments. These are in fact the real sum and substance of freedom; and we are free or enslaved precisely in the same proportion as we enjoy or are deprived of these sacred and invaluable rights. Provided this be really demonstrated, it then becomes an axiom, and leaves, as I conceive, no room whatsoever for judgment or opinion. Such a demonstration will be of infinite consequence; because it will make the forming of our wished-for party depend upon a single proposition, to be by each man to whom it shall be offered either assented to or rejected. When the question shall be simply this, 'Will you declare for a demonstrated right upon which public freedom wholly depends, or will you not?' there are few, my Lord, we may presume, who will venture to answer you in the negative.

"It was my happiness to perceive from even a short conversation that your Lordship and myself

think in general too much alike on this most interesting subject, not to be certain of finally agreeing in opinion upon all essential points after a few explanations.

“ Hoping that I have not trespassed upon your Lordship beyond your patience, and with sentiments of unfeigned respect and deference I have the honour to remain,” &c. &c.

“ TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

“ Berkeley-square, 7th of March, 1777.

“ Lord Shelburne presents his compliments to Major Cartwright: some occurrences have prevented his returning the enclosed papers sooner, which he hopes has proved no inconvenience to Mr. Cartwright.

“ He is abundantly sensible of the evils alluded to, of their rapid progress and ruinous consequences. He is also firmly persuaded that in several important points they admit of remedy with perfect safety and practicability; but the present distractions, and Lord Shelburne’s fixed determination against taking any lead, oblige him to go no farther than highly to applaud the zeal of an individual who can accomplish the bringing such constitutional considerations before the public, whose conviction can alone effectuate such articles of reform.”

The reader will observe by referring to the Appendix [No. V.] that Lord Shelburne, three years

after the date of this note, declared, "That the House of Commons must be free in every circumstance of its constitution; and that the rights of the people, if pushed to their utmost extent, consisted in annual elections, and a total change of the representation."

Among Major Cartwright's most intimate associates was Thomas Lord Effingham, whose refusal to serve in the American war arising from the same conscientious feeling as that which had prompted his friend to refuse the offer of Lord Howe, necessarily occasioned a great sympathy between them.

This nobleman distinguished himself as a volunteer in the war between Russia and Turkey, and particularly in the memorable engagement with the Turks, July 6, 1770, when the whole (one ship excepted, which was taken) of the Turkish fleet was burnt in Cisme-bay on the coast of Anatolia. He died in 1791 in the island of Jamaica, of which he was governor, and where his memory, still cherished with feelings of gratitude and respect, was honoured by a monument erected at the public expence.

" TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" Grange, March, 1777.

" DEAR SIR,

" As much as I agree with you in thinking our present situation a most alarming one, I cannot be of your opinion in believing my presence in

town could in any way conduce to the bettering of it.

“ I see not the least reason, to suppose that any material change in the course of events, so long and so often foretold, is likely to take place. The chain of them has been hitherto uninterrupted. They must at last open the eyes of kings, ministers, and people, but whether soon enough or not to prevent the miseries I apprehend, what man can tell? God only knows to what calamities He may have devoted us.

“ I thank you for your news, which seems to convince me still farther, that it is right in the present conjuncture rather to wait events than to promote any discussions, and my reason for thinking so is this: the people in general do not see the future ruin which is likely to be the consequence of our present conduct, they are made to believe that factious views alone occasion opposition.—The more that opposition stirs, the more is the heat kept up which prevents them from judging coolly. If we are for a time silent, they will soon be alarmed, if matters go on in this absurd way; and should administration change its course and pursue the true interest of our country, I, for one, shall be glad to see it. My only apprehension is, that the Tory can more easily add a hair to his head, or a cubit to his stature, than he can so far put off his nature, as to feel any love for liberty himself or tolerate it in others. The violence of the Tories will do more for the constitution than the best

conducted efforts of an opposition in the present temper of men.

“I think Lord North’s life is at present of great consequence to the country, for though I do not, by any means, like him as a minister, yet if I have any guess at his successor, the evil spirit will return with seven spirits worse than himself.

“Excuse this hasty scrawl. I believe the whole college of physicians has not a hard named disorder under which some of my household do not labour at present, so that the few healthy are scarcely able to take care of the sick. The business of the farm and plantations keeps me in the number of the former, in spite of all the efforts of anxiety to place me among the latter.

“I wish our friend Dr. Price would communicate to me, or rather to the public, his ideas of the present state of the unfunded debt. I hear he has lately published something. I wish you would order Almon to send it me, together with half a dozen of ‘Take your Choice.’ I beg you will give me the earliest information you can about the budget; and believe me,

“Dear Sir,

“Your affectionate friend,

“EFFINGHAM.”

Of a pamphlet written in the preceding year by Dr. Price, Major Cartwright thus speaks, in a letter to Miss D.: “Do you know that a pamphlet is come out by the celebrated Dr. Price, which

asserts and justifies every material principle laid down in 'American Independence.' The authority of his name has run it rapidly through three editions, and the doctrines are laid down with so much clearness and simplicity that I do not find any one hardy enough to dispute them. I called upon Dr. Price in order to have a little conversation with him on the subject. My visit was very short, but we shall probably have more conversation the next time I find myself at liberty to visit him. There is a very remarkable agreement in our sentiments, although he has a great superiority in the mode of communicating his own. It is enough for me, however, that I was the first to oppose the universal opinion and the express declarations of both houses of parliament in actual law, as well as resolves, and that I am now supported by one of the clearest and strongest writers of the age."

" TO MISS C.

" December 16, 1777.

" MY DEAR SISTER,

" There are accounts by way of France, that General Vaughan has performed the second part of Burgoyne's play of 'Ground your Arms,' and that Sir William Howe has been severely handled by Washington, and was glad to reach his ships in safety."

" These accounts are however not yet confirmed. There is great consternation at St. James's, where I mean to pay a visit to-morrow, and shall look his

Majesty in the face with very different feelings from those who have betrayed him into this wicked and unjust war. It is with infinite satisfaction I reflect on the step I took last year, as I find the wisest and best men now adopt the plan I was the first to propose nearly four years ago, of entering into an alliance with the colonies as independent states.

“ In consequence of what I have published, I have had the honour of being consulted by men who, to all appearance, may be called upon shortly by his Majesty to save his kingdom. I mention this in order to shew some of your friends that I am in no danger (as they suppose) of being hanged.”

“ TO MISS D.

“ London, 26th March, 1778.

“ In answer to your letter of the 23d, so far as it relates to war with France and America, I might refer you to my last, as well as I recollect, for therein, I believe, I gave you my intentions with regard to serving at sea. We had before this made the Americans as much our enemies as it was possible they should be, by carrying into their country fire and sword on principles as iniquitous as ever actuated the most abominable tyrants. In their present transaction with France, so far as it is made public, they have done nothing but what they have a right to do; no more hath France. If they choose to trade with each other, they have a right so to do, and if we go to war with France

upon *that* account, it will be a heavy addition to our national criminality. Should France, on the other hand, declare war against us, in order only to prevent a reconciliation between this country and her colonies, theirs will be the criminality ; and, *with regard to them*, a war on our part might then be justifiable. But still, there will be no criminality on the part of America, because she was driven to arms in her own just defence, and has a right to avail herself of any assistance she can procure. In saying that, 'with regard to France, a war on our part *might be justifiable*, provided she commenced it unjustly, I am not sure that I do not say a great deal too much : for it would be a consequence of our own wicked conduct towards America ; and we, doubtless, ought to do every reparation that is possible, instead of continuing to desolate the earth, and to spill the blood of mankind, by engaging in new wars upon which our very preservation does not immediately depend. Under such circumstances nothing but self-preservation can in any degree justify a war. Offensive war, by which I mean a war not entered into through necessity and for self-defence, is always wicked and foolish ; and when we have brought ourselves into the necessity of engaging in a new war for self-defence, by first wantonly engaging in an offensive war of the most unnatural and criminal nature, it seems to me to be an aggravation of our crime. As to France being our '*professed* enemy,' or, as some call her, our '*natural* enemy',

those are only the words of prejudice. When the spilling of blood is the business in hand, and the welfare of nations is at stake, we must not be carried away by prejudices or passion, but take care to keep in the straight line of rectitude. There is a book that you and I have a respect for, which tells us that all men are our brethren, and that we should do to others as we would that others should do to us. If politicians would make these simple maxims the rules of their political conduct, there would be no such infernality as war in the world. The mere circumstance of France making war upon this kingdom, can make no difference in the right or the wrong between us and America, and therefore, men who have acted from reflection and principle, will not condemn America now more than heretofore. But, notwithstanding I think this kingdom has been the aggressor, I will nevertheless use my sword against either Frenchman or American who shall invade this country.

“ I am informed that almost every power in Europe has already acknowledged the independency of America, and that a very late treaty with Franklin has been *attempted*. His answer was: ‘ You are making war upon us, and with you I have no powers to treat: you must send to America, if you desire to be at peace.’ I hear other things too, that have passed not many *hours* since in the cabinet; from which I am inclined to think the king would now employ any men in the room of his present ministers who would *undertake*

the conduct of public affairs. I understand too, that there is an idea of having recourse to a new parliament."

It appears by his correspondence with Capel Lofft, Esq. and the Duke of Richmond, and by the following letter from the Earl of Abingdon*, that Major Cartwright was anxious, in the year 1778, to form what he entitled 'A Society of Political Enquiry', a plan in which many distinguished persons seem to have taken great interest; but though this object was not at that time accomplished, it is probable that these exertions laid the foundation of the 'Society for Constitutional Information', which was afterwards instituted in 1780.

" Wimpole Street, March 19, 1778.

" SIR,

" Although I heartily approve your plan for a more equal representation of the people, yet I cannot think that the Members of Parliament, and particularly of the House of Lords, are persons quite so proper to be of that *Society of Enquiry* which you propose, in order to this end. Whatever is to be done in this way, must come before them in their legislative capacities, and then is the time for them to shew their zeal for the constitution and regard for the public. In the mean time it is

* Of this nobleman's virtue and integrity Major Cartwright speaks in terms of high commendation in his 'Constitution Produced and Illustrated', p. 357.

the duty of the people at large to consider of this business, and to obtain it, either by representation to parliament, or if that would not do, as it certainly would not with the present parliament, by making it *a sine qua non* at the next general election of representatives. I have only to add that, whenever this matter shall fall under my contemplation in parliament, the preservation of the liberties of the people, and a restoration of the constitution, will be the strict rules of my conduct.

“ I am, Sir, with great respect,

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

“ ABINGDON.”

In the latter end of the year 1778, when the Major was on duty at Hull, he received an invitation from some of the leading burgesses of Nottingham, to stand for that town; and though, in his reply, he earnestly recommended them to look among themselves for a proper candidate to transact their own business, they persisted in repeating the invitation with a considerable appearance, as it should seem, of success. Mr. Abel Smith having, however, unexpectedly offered himself, they addressed to Major Cartwright the following letter :

SIR,

“ It is with undiminished attachment to you, and gratitude for the noble part you have ever taken in the cause of your injured country, that we at present address you, though the subject of our

address be neither welcome to ourselves nor to you. Mr. Smith has, contrary to all expectation, for some days past, declared himself a candidate, and your friends, though as affectionately and heartily devoted to you as friends can be, find themselves obliged to recommend it to your consideration, whether it be not adviseable to decline. Those who join in this recommendation are, at all events, the friends of you and their country; but there are other names of considerable weight, which Mr. Smith's appearance draws after it: but, Sir, we desire you not to be mistaken; we are still united to pursue the same object, and have your interest at a future period, steadily in view.

“ We wish to act as one individual in the present contest, and to shew, if possible, our consequence, that it may in the next instance appear with more eclat. This, Sir, we very respectfully submit to your decision, and if you join in opinion with us, you will favour us with a short address to the freeholders. If you think otherwise, they desire to assure you of their individual attachment; and that, as things are circumstanced, they can better promote your interest than by voting for you on the present occasion.

“ We are, Sir, with much esteem,

“ Your faithful friends,

“ And most obedient servants.”

In this year Major Cartwright was proposed for the county of Nottingham; and so great was the

anxiety of his father for his success, that he offered him a very considerable sum towards the attainment of this object, besides supplying him with the necessary qualification. Among many others, the following letter from Sir Cecil Wray deserves to be inserted. He seems to have been of the opinion of Major Cartwright himself, who could not endure to hear what he called the *hypocritical slang* of those who deprecate every attempt to make an election independent, as, in their opinion, “*disturbing the peace of the county.*”

“DEAR SIR,

“I had the honour of yours, with the Address to the Freeholders of Nottingham inclosed. I should have been extremely happy to have had either vote or interest in that county, to have given my testimony in favour of one, whose political principles merit the assistance of every well-wisher to the constitution; but not being possessed of either, I fear I can be of no service than by my wishes for your success.

“To deliver a county from oppression is an honour that falls to the lot of few: I own I envy you the attempt.

“I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

“CECIL WRAY.”

It need hardly be stated, that he did not succeed in this object of his ambition; and he had to learn, in more than one instance during his long life, that

in the present system of elections, neither acknowledged purity of character, independent situation in life, nor even an undeviating devotion to the public weal, were always the best and most necessary qualifications for a candidate to possess.

Upon this occasion Mr. Meadows was his successful opponent, and was supported by the Duke of Portland, to whom Major Cartwright thus writes in December, 1778 :

“ MY LORD,

“ I was duly honoured with your Grace’s two letters of the 6th and 12th of last month. As I think, my Lord, you must imagine they would not be entirely satisfactory to me ; and as I like frankness on such occasions, I take the liberty of communicating to your Grace my sentiments on the subject of them. Your Grace has mentioned the respect you bear Mr. Meadows’s private character, and an alliance between your families, as the motives to your determination in his favour. It is probable enough that, in the private character of that gentleman, there were motives sufficient to a preference ; but as far as family alliances were concerned, I am told I have the honour to be a nearer relation to your Grace, and to your Duchess, by two or three degrees, than Mr. Meadows is ; but I did not think of seeking into my pedigree for my pretensions to a seat in Parliament. Nor shall I think you wrong in opposing either Mr. Meadows or myself, on any future occasion, in favour of an entire stranger in blood, so long as you shall act

under the persuasion of doing the best for the public good; on the contrary, I shall hold it to be the only rule to be followed in every case."

Major Cartwright then proceeds to state his reasons for expecting the support of the whig interest, and thus continues:—

"Defeated, indeed, I have been on a late occasion; but while I breathe, I will never be disquieted, nor desert what I think my duty to the public. I shall keep my word with the town of Nottingham, in offering myself at the next vacancy, and shall stand a poll at all events. When your Grace warned me against a second disappointment, I hope the word did not include the ideas of personal mortification and repentance; for on both occasions I had ample amends made me for all that I hazarded, and it is with truth I can declare, that, when I left the Moot Hall at Mansfield, I would not have exchanged feelings with any man there, if I might have had his estate into the bargain.

"By the freedom of my expostulations on this and former occasions, you will perceive, my Lord, that I am far from flattering any man with insinuations, that their political conduct must always be right because they are whigs, and opposed to a set of very bad ministers. So nearly concerned as I have been in the event on the late occasion, I feel myself justified in having given your Grace my

sincere opinions. I hope I have done it as becomes me, to a man I have always esteemed and respected independent of his rank. That I have my own political errors, I doubt not. But I know I wish to be informed of them ; for to injure one's country while one endeavours to serve it, must be equally distressing and humiliating to a man of principle.

“ Anxiously hoping that no such fatal errors may continue to mislead either of us,

“ I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“ Your Grace's most obedient

“ humble Servant,

“ J. CARTWRIGHT.”

During this year and the one following (1779) Major Cartwright was actively employed in the duties of the militia ; but in the course of his services he seems to have experienced much neglect, and to have been fated to see others, less zealous, placed over his head.

“ TO MISS D.

“ April 4, 1778.

“ I was not much in spirits when my last went to post. The immediate causes of uneasiness, then fresh in my mind, arose from the complicated injuries I had received on a late occasion, and at the time strong appearances that the jealousies of others would counteract and suppress my future attentions and activity in the discharge of my duty to my regiment.

“ After the most unremitting assiduities in that respect, ever since I had my commission, and bearing so great a burthen from the non-attendance of those who ought to have taken their share, I thought it enough to be denied, through unworthy motives, that advancement to which I had the fairest pretensions; and, was nevertheless determined, and anxiously bent, to exert myself to the utmost as formerly: but when I saw myself watched in every motion, counteracted in my attempts to forward the service, and regulations set aside merely because they originated with me, &c. it appeared to me that I was likely to be rendered, in a great measure, useless to the public in the station that I held, and was to incur the discredit of neglecting the regiment, when the fault lay with others in tying my hands. These reflections and their attendants were full of bitterness. But I have to thank that Power who guideth the spirits of men, that I have been enabled to suppress my *personal* feelings, and to regulate my conduct, so as to shew that I seek not to make any returns of ill offices, and am as much as ever devoted to forward the discipline and prosperity of the regiment; and it is with much satisfaction I find that the jealousy and distrust of me seems to abate.”

During the remainder of this year he was encamped at South Sea Common, and formed, on the spur of the occasion, when the British Fleet retreated into harbour before the combined fleets

of France and Spain, that plan of defence in which were united both naval and military operations, and to the merit of which both the Duke of Richmond and General Debbieg bore the most unequivocal testimony.

The Duke of Richmond's opinion of this plan may be seen in the following extracts, from his correspondence at this time.

“ I am very much obliged to you for the very ingenious and noble plan you have sent me for the defence of Portsmouth, which, for the most part, as well as your reasonings on the subject, entirely coincide with my ideas.

“ In respect also of your plan for the defence of the Passage of the Needles, I agree with you that batteries are far preferable to the sinking of ships,” &c.

“ With regard to the other part of your letter and plan of rendering the House of Commons a true representation of the people, I have, from the beginning, thought it founded upon true principles, and such as, if executed, would bid fairest of any I know to destroy corruption and restore vigour to the constitution. My great difficulty has always been how your plan, or anything like it, can ever be carried into execution. I almost despair that any House of Commons constituted like the present could be induced to pass such a self-denying law. I am convinced that nothing but an irresistible cry from without doors, could in-

duce them to vote it. I can scarce hope that the present electors, who have a foolish vanity from the partiality in their favour, would instruct their members to abridge them of what they call their privileges, and it requires men of very peculiar talents to be able to convince a whole nation of their real interest, and to act with one voice in support of it. However, I am far from refusing myself to any reasonable attempt. I have constantly, in conversation, endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for such a consideration; and I am at this time engaged in forming a plan which, I believe, would very much coincide with your opinions. I can by no means engage for its success, or even to produce it, as in matters of this sort many and various considerations must be weighed, and the result of them only can determine whether it is prudent at the moment to make the attempt or to remain silent. I shall be happy if I can bring my schemes to any degree of consistency, to communicate them to you, for I assure you, Sir, that your reasonings have great weight with me, and I shall be very glad to have your approbation in any step I take.

“ I am, &c.

“ RICHMOND.”

“ November 5, 1779.”

Of the plan which he drew out for the defence of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, he speaks in a letter written in this year: “ I gave the General a sketch of my plan on Friday—as it depends on

naval operations it was no affront to my General to assume the character of a voluntary counsellor. —At second hand, I have been told it met with both his and the admiral's approbation; but a more unequivocal information, was the order for fitting out fire-ships as I had recommended, a short time after the delivery of my proposal."

In the year 1779 the indefatigable mind of the Major was also employed in forming a plan for naval surveying calculated to ascertain, with tolerable precision, the different movements of a fleet during action.

The writer has been informed that something of the same nature was introduced by Buonaparte in order that his aides-de-camp might be able to take down correct memoranda on the field of battle; but as such a plan has not yet been adopted in our own navy, it is given in the Appendix, that the public may be able to form an opinion of its practicability.

It seems evident, from the remarks introduced by its author at the beginning of the paper of explanation, that such a mode of giving, after an engagement, an exact view of the manœuvres made use of, would be very desirable. It might clear up points of difficulty, and perhaps rescue from undeserved censure that which to a British officer is dearer than life, his honour and reputation.

Though in his own private business Major Cartwright sometimes neglected those precautions

which less confiding persons think necessary, yet, in his correspondence on political subjects, he was more methodical, and preserved letters and papers to an immense amount.

Relating to the events of the year 1780, however, so few documents have been found, that the writer has relied on information collected from other sources.

The year commenced with a general meeting of the county of Nottingham for a redress of grievances, of which he was the original mover. Though beset by solicitations from persons of consideration not to persevere in what they considered as an useless attempt, and with prognostics of defeat arising from the influence of government, and the supposed deficiency of public spirit, he persisted in the attempt, and it is singular that the very persons who, the night before, had vehemently urged him to give up his resolutions, were the loudest in their rejoicings when the object of the meeting was accomplished, congratulating themselves as if the success had been solely the result of their own exertions. This, however Major Cartwright might be amused in his own mind, did not give him a shadow of uneasiness. He had none of the jealousy of a party-man, nor ever aimed at being a political leader. If what he desired were but accomplished, it mattered not to him who took the credit of it. "Be assured that, provided the motion be made," says he, in a letter

to a friend in the year 1814, "I had always rather support than move."

The meeting was numerously attended, and a petition to Parliament, and a committee of correspondence voted. The Duke of Portland was chairman of this committee; and his brother, Lord Edward Bentinck, was afterwards delegated to assist at the convention of deputies from the petitioning counties, towns and cities. Though denied the honour of serving the town of Nottingham in Parliament, Major Cartwright was appointed their deputy by the burgesses of that place, in common hall assembled, for the purpose of consulting with the other deputies on all subjects tending to promote parliamentary reform.

On the 20th of March, 1780, at the Westminster Committee, held at the King's Arms Tavern, were passed those resolutions on the state of the representation which have been alluded to incorrectly by Mr. Moore in his *Life of Sheridan*. That gentleman, speaking of Mr. Fox, says it may be doubted whether he was a sincere friend to the principle of reform; "aware," he continues, "that the *wild* scheme of Cartwright and others, which these resolutions recommended, was wholly impracticable*.

* Mr. Moore's opinion on the subject of Mr. Fox's insincerity in the cause of reform is confirmed by the following passage from Major Cartwright's Memorandum Book: "On Sunday the 10th of April, 1814, Earl Stanhope informed me that in conversation with Mr. Fox and a third person, Mr. Fox said 'Par-

He always took refuge in it when pressed upon the subject, and would laughingly advise his political friends to do the same: "whenever any one", he would say, "proposes to you a specific plan of reform, always answer that you are for nothing short of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, then you are safe."

After reading Mr. Moore's inconsiderate remark (to use the mildest term), on "the *wild* scheme of Cartwright and others," it will be curious to observe, that in his anxiety to sneer at the memory of Major Cartwright, he did not even give himself the trouble to consult these resolutions. In Wyvill's Political Papers, Vol. I. p. 217, they are given as follows: and it will be seen that they are confined to the duration of Parliament, and that the words "universal suffrage" are not to be found in them:

"*Resolved*—That annual parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England; and that the act which prolonged their duration was subversive of the constitution, and a violation, on the part of the representatives, of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents.

"*Resolved*—That the present state of the representation of this country is inadequate to the ob-

liamentary reform was a fit thing to be made use of in argument in the House of Commons, but not to be carried into execution." Lord Stanhope also mentioned the same fact to Major Cartwright's friend, Mr. Holt White, and in the same words.

ject, and a departure from, the first principles of the constitution.

“ *Resolved*—That thanks be given to the Chairman* and Members of the sub-committee, for the very intelligent report made by them of the state of the representation of this country, and the duration of parliaments.

“ *Resolved*—That the report of the sub-committee be printed, and copies sent to the several committees of the counties, cities and boroughs of this kingdom.

“ C. J. FOX, CHAIRMAN.”

In the spring of the year 1780 our politician accomplished, with the assistance of Capel Lofft, Esq. and Dr. John Jebb, his long wished-for object of establishing a society for constitutional information; and its first address was of his composition.

Among its members were Dr. Price, Mr. Granville Sharp, Mr. Rutt†, Mr. Rogers, Dr. Brocklesby, Mr. Bridgen (son-in-law to the author of Sir Charles Grandison), Mr. Bentley (partner of Mr. Wedgwood), Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. General Fitzpatric, M.P., Lord Surrey (afterwards Duke

* R. B. Sheridan, Esq.

† This gentleman took an active part in the public meeting held at the Crown and Anchor, June 20th, 1825, for promoting subscriptions towards the erection of a monument to the memory of Major Cartwright. In the “Commonwealth in Danger”, p. 138, Major Cartwright mentions this gentleman’s having seconded him in a motion for the society to resume its proceedings for Parliamentary reform.

of Norfolk), the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Effingham, the Duke of Richmond, Sir Barnard Turner, Sir Cecil Wray, M.P., Mr. Trecothick, William Smith, Esq. M.P., the Earl of Selkirk, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Daer, Lord Sempill, Sir James Norcliffe (afterwards Duke of Roxburgh), Sir John Carter, Sir Watkin Lewes, M.P., Alderman Sawbridge, Alderman Hayley, Alderman Crosby, Sir William Plomer, Alderman Kirkman, B. Vaughan, Esq., M.P., Sir John Sinclair, M.P., R. B. Sheridan, Esq. M.P., W. Plumer, Esq. M.P., R. S. Milnes, Esq. M.P., Sir W. Middleton, Bart. M.P., Sir Joseph Mawbey, M.P., Jervoise Clerke Jervoise, Esq. M.P., Sir Watts Horton, Joshua Grigby, Esq. M.P., Philip Dehany, Esq. M.P., Thomas Day, Esq. (author of Sandford and Merton), Dr. Kentish, Dr. Towers, Dr. Edwards, Dr. Melville, Mr. Serjeant Bond, Mr. Stratford Canning (uncle to the Right Honourable G. Canning), the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, George Rous, Esq., William Cunningham, Esq., W. Sturch, Esq., &c. &c.

Major Cartwright was the author of a "Declaration of Rights", published and distributed, about this time, by the above-mentioned society, and which he afterwards published with symbolical ornaments, engraved from his own designs by the masterly hand of his friend William Sharp*.

* This amiable and eccentric character died in the same year with his old friend and political associate. Though his frequent endeavours to convert Major Cartwright to a belief in his fa-

Of this Declaration, Sir William Jones said, "it ought to be written in letters of gold"; and little as Major Cartwright was accustomed to boast of, or even to remember, any circumstance which was flattering to his vanity, he found great pleasure in relating, that the immortal Chatham, in the presence of General Oglethorpe, emphatically exclaimed, on perusing it, "Aye, this is right; this is very right."—"These words", says he, in a published letter to Mr. Wyvill, "the General reported to Mr. Granville Sharp and myself, at Mr. William Sharp's, in the Old Jewry." That he should have felt both pride and pleasure in the approbation of such a man, is not surprising; especially as he never spoke of that great orator and statesman without evident emotion. It was, indeed, one of Major Cartwright's peculiarities, that the mention of whatever was great and noble in human nature always powerfully affected him. If, in reading aloud to his family, any thing of this kind occurred, his voice faltered, and he was frequently obliged to lay down the book.

In "The People's Barrier against Undue Influence and Corruption", published in 1780, he begins by laying down the maxims on which political knowledge is founded; and each maxim is drawn from the authority of some writer on government of acknowledged reputation. He then proceeds

vourite prophets and prophetesses were fruitless, yet their friendly intercourse continued through life; and Sharp often expressed a great desire to engrave the portrait of the reformer.

to demonstrate that parliaments were originally annual, and the birthright of Englishmen; at the same time taking care to maintain, that though the English had *antient* right to plead in behalf of their claim, yet that they possessed, also, an *inherent* right, exclusive of any such antient precedent. He then shews the innovations which had taken place, and the regular system by which the rights of the people had been continually and gradually infringed; concluding, by declaring that a reformation of these corrupt abuses was practicable; and by giving draughts of two acts for that purpose, and which, in fact, are the ground-work of his “Bill of Rights and Liberties”, published forty years after the period now under consideration. At the end of the work is an Address to the Frecholders of Middlesex, in which he argues with great force against the meanness and selfishness which would object to give privileges to others, because such concessions would narrow their own.

“With regard”, he says, “to the common right of nature, we are all equal; nor can we think it any degradation to ourselves, that the poorest persons in the community should enjoy, in common with ourselves, the natural means of self-preservation, and any of those blessings bestowed by our Creator equally and freely to all.

“Will the fountain be less grateful to our palate, because it slakes the thirst of the poor and laborious part of mankind?

“Will the air we breathe be less refreshing and

beneficial, because it is enjoyed in common with the cottager? Nor should we conceive our rights and franchises in any way abridged, our dignity lessened, or our liberty less dear to us, were every Englishman, from the prince to the peasant, to enjoy, in common with ourselves, the privilege of voting for a legislative guardian, which is the birth-right of us all.”—P. 133.

The summer of this year was spent by the Nottinghamshire militia at Ranmer Heath; and while there he received the news of the death of Lady Tyrconnel; of which he thus speaks, in a letter to one of his sisters, dated 21st July, 1780:

“ Having flattered myself that Buxton would yet restore to us our dearest aunt, your letter has given me a shock for which I was not prepared.—It is properly agreed to consider her as a parent; for indeed she was no less in affection to us.—I had for some time past indulged a wish, that health and tranquil pleasure might have brightened the evening of her days;—there is a pang in the disappointment. But she is better rewarded for her singular virtue. If any creature on earth ever loved God and her neighbour with Christian sincerity, it was this excellent woman. When the cords of nature are cut asunder, nature must feel: but I would much rather, than not, have the satisfaction to remember that I once had such a relation.—It is impossible not to feel an inclination

that her remains should be deposited according to her wish ; but I hope some memorial of her will be erected in Marnham Church."

In the autumn of 1780 he again received an invitation to stand for Nottingham.

One event of a private nature, which occurred during this year, yet remains to be noticed.

On the 12th of November he obtained the hand of Anne Katharine Dashwood, eldest daughter of Samuel Dashwood, Esq. of Well Vale, in Lincolnshire.

To this lady's unceasing care and tenderness, it may be said, that, under Providence, he was indebted for the prolongation of his days beyond the usual period of the age of man : to her, as he himself declared, he owed the chief happiness of his life ; and she administered to his comfort to the last moments of his existence. Circumstances connected with family settlements and arrangements, had deferred their union during a period of nine years ; but they were repaid for this tedious delay, by forty-four years of domestic harmony and comfort. More, much more, might be said on this subject ; but the writer must consult the feelings of one whose wish it has ever been to avoid public notice.

While the convention sat in London in the year 1781, Major Cartwright wrote " Letters to the Deputies", on the inequality of representation, and the inadequacy and inexpediency of petitions to

seems to have consisted chiefly of letters between the Duke of Richmond and himself. In one of these he assures the Duke of Lord Shelburne's sincerity in the cause of reform. "In a conversation I have had with him," says he, "he emphatically declared, that where your Grace leads, he will follow."*

In this year began the acquaintance between our reformer and that excellent man, the Reverend Christopher Wyvill, who introduced himself by sending a copy of his second address to the Committee of Association to Major Cartwright, at the same time assuring him that "if it obtained his approbation, few circumstances could afford him higher satisfaction, or a better hope of success."

During a short absence from home in January 1781, he writes to Mrs. Cartwright :

"You ask me if any thing satisfactory in *my* political world has occurred. On Friday morning I attended the Westminster committee, where faction reared her head and gave me some uneasiness, as the wished-for reformation must be retarded, while the patriots secretly obstruct it. But the evening gave me complete amends for the morning's vexation. At the society for constitutional information, (which does me the honour to call me its founder, and in that character my name was enrolled in its proceedings when I was absent, and my health drunk as such,) I had the satisfaction to hear read an admirable oration which is shortly to

be circulated as a new address to the public ; and such was the eloquence of the composition, the wisdom of the sentiments, and the unanimous admiration of all present, that I felt my warmest ideas on the subject of patriotism realized on the occasion. There was not, I believe, a man present, who looked not down with contempt on faction, and on the littleness of every party which has not at heart the universal happiness and freedom of mankind.

“ Our society bids fair in time to become a constellation of genius and patriotism. While I can associate with such men as these, and at home enjoy the society of one who shares in all my thoughts, I shall not envy any human being. Provided Heaven do but bestow on me tolerable health, the sun will seldom shine upon a happier man.

“ My regimen has been very useful to me, and by care and temperance I hope to recruit my shattered constitution very considerably. But such as I may be, whether worse or better, I trust my life may be made instrumental to the happiness of others.”

It was in this year that his plan for raising the Royal George was submitted to Lords Howe and Keppel, besides other persons connected with the navy department; but though it was allowed by all to be the best which had been offered to Government, it is needless to say that it was never attended

to, and that the noble ship still lies buried in the deep, in which it was so suddenly engulfed.

In order to avoid repetition, many attempts made during the foregoing period, from 1772 to 1781, for the adoption of a plan for the supply of naval timber*, have been omitted, and for the same reason, a variety of vexations which Major Cartwright experienced relative to his promotion in the militia are passed over. It is sufficient to remark, that no disappointment, no injustice, no ill usage of any kind, ever relaxed his efforts, or abated the constancy of his zeal.

On the 28th February, 1782, a meeting was held at the Moot Hall, Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, at which a petition for an inquiry into the abuses of the House of Commons was agreed upon, and the following gentlemen were appointed as a committee to carry the resolutions into effect:

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.
 LORD EDWARD BENTINCK.
 LORD GEORGE SUTTON.
 MR. GEORGE SUTTON.
 MR. THOMAS SUTTON.
 MR. CHARLES SUTTON†. .
 MR. HEWETT.
 MR. DISNEY FYTCHE. .

THE REV. J. DISNEY.
 MR. ACLAM.
 MR. JOHN CARTWRIGHT.
 MR. SIKES.
 MR. POCKLINGTON.
 MR. POCKLINGTON, (of
 Carlton).
 MR. HEWISH.

* Even so late as the year 1801, we shall see him again writing to a minister (the present Lord Sidmouth), on the timber-plan.

† Of this gentleman (now primate of England), Mr. Cartwright thus speaks, in a letter dated 16th September, 1773: "He is a most sensible, ingenuous, modest youth, thirsting after knowledge and virtue, of which he already possesses no small share."

SIR GEORGE SAVILE.

MR. MEADOWS.

MR. ALTHORPE.

THE REV. E. CARTWRIGHT.

MR. NEVILLE.

MR. GILBERT COOPER.

Major Cartwright was also the chief promoter of another meeting which took place on the 28th of October in the same year, at the Moot Hall, for a petition to Parliament for a more equal representation of the people in the Commons House. The requisition to the sheriff was signed as follows :

GEORGE SUTTON (Right Hon.
Lord).

W. DICKENSON RASTALL.

J. G. COOPER.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

JOSEPH POCKLINGTON.

GEORGE SAVILE.

LAUNCELOT ROBINSON.

In the *General Adventurer* and *Morning Intelligencer* of July 1782, is the following passage relative to the part taken in a meeting held at Westminster, by the subject of these Memoirs. "Major Cartwright then brought forward three resolutions relating to the rights of the people to a more perfect representation, which were agreed to. He also supported the petition in a long and able speech."

Of this speech, a gentleman present * gives the following account, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Edmund Cartwright :

"I was most agreeably entertained on the 17th of last month, in Westminster Hall ; when Mr.

* The Rev. Mr. Beville.

Fox called together his electors, to apologize for his late resignation.

“ Though the day was remarkably rainy, the assembly was numerous and respectable. The member was attended by Dr. Jebb, Major Cartwright, Mr. John Townshend, and several others. Your brother made several motions, which were all unanimously agreed to. He afterwards addressed the meeting in a very sensible and elegant harangue. I confess I rather trembled for him at starting, as he began with a little hesitation, but he soon relieved me from my apprehension, by a rapid, easy, and forcible flow of language. He was interrupted only by shouts of applause, which I contributed to as much as I could. He called forth the attention of his hearers to the absurdity of attributing impracticability to the idea of equal representation, and proved in a manner equally humourous and ingenious, that it was surely as easy to allow every man a right in elections, as to tax him in the minutest article in his food or raiment.—In short, he pleased me very much, and if applauses be allowed an unequivocal mark of approbation, he gratified the whole assembly.”

The following letter was written by Major Cartwright two days previous to the above mentioned meeting :

“ TO MRS. C——.

“ 15th July, 1782.

“ The minister is pledged to us not only by words the most extensive, unequivocal and bind-

ing, but by his interest ; Fox, his grand opponent, is the same ; and I trust we shall obtain such a reform in the House of Commons as will restore the constitution to its antient vigour, and equally free the people and the king from the insolence and pillaging of factions. On Wednesday, we are to hold a general meeting in Westminster : if I should feel bold, and the spirit move me, possibly I may hold forth a little on the old topic. No one is clear whether Fox will attend. I wish his constituents would allow him 3000*l.* a-year, and secure its continuance as long as he persevered in serving them and was not in office.

“ On Saturday I waited on Lord Keppel, to remind him about defending Portsmouth according to the plans I sent from Gosport last year. He said he had once looked them over, and had been desired by the Duke of Richmond to accompany him to Portsmouth, but could not possibly leave the office. He had also conversed a great deal with Lord Howe upon the subject when in town. If, when these two men examine the plan, they should adopt any considerable part of it, I shall have no small satisfaction. •

“ I sent Lord Shelburne an abstract of my forest plan. There is economy, reform, a yearly resource for 120,000*l.* and many other good things for him. I shall call to know his sentiments, and shall then sift him about Parliaments once more.

“ The last time I saw him, he said all I could possibly wish.—He was not then a minister.”

On the 7th of May, 1782, the Marquis of Rockingham being then prime minister, the question of reform was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, whose motion was seconded by Alderman Sawbridge. He was zealously followed by Sir George Savile, who declared it to be his opinion "that the House might as well call itself the representative of France as of the people of England."—The motion was also supported by Mr. Fox, but was lost by only twenty votes; the numbers being 161 to 141. Mr. Pitt brought the same subject forward when in office, on the 7th of May, 1783, when the House passed to the order of the day; Ayes 293, Noes 149: and also on the 18th of April, 1785; Noes 248, Ayes 174.

On the subject of the first of these occasions, the following anecdote in connexion with that debate is related by Major Cartwright, in a published letter to the Rev. C. Wyvill, 14 Jan. 1814. "The morning after the debate I was met in Coventry Street by Mr. King, the Marquis's private secretary, and now Bishop of Rochester, who, pathetically lamenting the vote of the preceding evening, added, that unfortunately Lord Rockingham had forgotten the day of the discussion: now it so happened that Mr. Burke, the inveterate enemy of reform in the representation, and at that time also a secretary under the minister, did, contrary to his disposition and habits, absent himself from that debate; and it was the current report and belief that this self-denial was in compliance with

his Lordship's wishes. The inference was, that as Mr. Burke's opposition to the question might probably be imputed to the influence of his superior, and so have brought in public question his Lordship's sincerity; thinking it for his reputation that the conduct of his principal secretary should not expose him to such an inconvenience, he did not forget to prevail on that gentleman to absent himself from the House on the day of that debate!—I give the simple history without comment."

Major Cartwright has often been heard to declare that he never experienced a greater enjoyment than from listening to the eloquent speech made by Mr. Pitt on the subject of reform, on the 18th April, 1785. In this speech the minister declared "that without a parliamentary reformation, neither the liberty of the nation can be preserved, nor the permanence of a wise and virtuous administration can be secured." "These very words", says Major C. in a manuscript note in his 'Constitutional Defence of England,' "were made the subject of a well known resolution of leading friends to a reform, assembled at the Thatched House Tavern, very soon after the speech was delivered. The original draught of that resolution, in the year 1791 or 1792, was in the possession of the author of this book, and shewn by him to the gentlemen present at a meeting of 'The Friends of the People,' with corrections in Mr. Pitt's own hand-writing."

In the year 1782, besides a letter to Mr. Pitt

signed "Alfred", and various other articles inserted in newspapers: he wrote "Give us our Rights; or, a Letter to the Freeholders of Middlesex, dedicated to Capel Lofft, Dr. Jebb, and Granville Sharp."

The work begins by describing the situation of Rome, before she lost her liberties, when "Cæsar had friends, Pompey had friends, but none were friends to Rome": and prophecies that England will fall into the same state of slavery, "when ministry has friends, opposition has friends, but none are friends to the constitution."

In section 5, page 13, he says, "why an Englishman, who happens to excise malt in Banbury, shall be free, and the farmer who grows it in the next parish, shall not; why a cobbler in a cinqueport shall have his franchise, and a manufacturer in Birmingham have none; I believe no casuist on earth, but the members of the English House of Commons, can determine."

In this year, from Sir William Jones (to whom common consent seems to have confirmed a title to the appellation of "the most enlightened of the sons of men"), he received the following letter:

"23d May, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"Although our acquaintance, which the similarity of our political sentiments will, I trust, improve and ripen into friendship, be of recent date, yet I have such an opinion of your candour, that

I am sure you will take in good part the freedom of my strictures on your excellent paper, which ought to be written on the heart of every Englishman: at the same time, I persuade myself that you believe me incapable of any technical narrowness and forensic sophistry; for though I have been somewhat conversant with 'the minute' practice of the courts, yet I have sometimes risen to the high principles of rational jurisprudence. You must pardon me, therefore, if, in speaking of public rights, I distinguish between 'such as are just and natural, and such as are legal or constitutional; and in speaking of the constitution,' between the form and the spirit of it; since many laws which bind the opinion of a jurist, are unnatural or unconstitutional; and while the principles of the constitution direct the legislature, either elected or electing, the established forms of it must guide the lawyer. I cannot, then, help distinguishing between those opinions which I may give as a juris-consult, and those which I may advance as a sharer in the legislation of my country, and a calm reasoner on the rights of my species. Had I, for example, been asked, whether customary freeholders or copyholders, by the custom of the manor, but not at the will of the lord, were qualified to vote, as freeholders, in county elections? I must, as a lawyer, have answered, that they certainly had no such legal right: but, had I been in Parliament in the 31st of George II., I should have thought, as a legislator, that copyholders had a

natural right, supported by the spirit of our constitution; should have despised the gabble of the feudal lawyers; and should, consequently, both have argued and voted against the act by which all tenants, by copy of court-roll, were declared incapable of polling for knights of the shire. With this preface, I submit to your better judgment the hasty notes which I have scribbled on the sheet inclosed; and I entreat you to believe that I am, with sincere respect,

“Dear Sir,

“Your very faithful and obedient Servant,

“WILLIAM JONES.”

“P.S. It is my deliberate (though private) opinion, that the people of England will never be a people, in the majestic sense of the word, unless two hundred thousand of the *civil* state be ready, before the first of next November, to take the field, without rashness or disorder, at twenty-four hours’ notice.”

Major Cartwright now found himself involved in the business attendant on a large agricultural concern, which, as we have already mentioned, his arrangements with his eldest brother had placed under his management: but it is astonishing to observe, that though these concerns were not neglected, he still had leisure for an extensive political correspondence. His industry was, indeed, remarkable at all periods of his life. Many men

have toiled for purposes of wealth or ambition ; but few men ever spent more hours in labour, not only without a wish or expectation of personal advantage, but with the conviction that, in so doing, he was sure to injure both his fortune and his prospects.

He appears, at this time, to have been indefatigable in his exertions in the Society for Constitutional Information, as well as in his correspondence with Colonel Sharman and the leading patriots of that day in Ireland. Under the protection of the volunteers, and the auspices of the public-spirited Lord Charlemont, that unhappy country enjoyed a transient gleam of sunshine, and great hopes were entertained of a melioration in her condition. That these flattering hopes were never realized by the enlightened exertions of her rulers, was matter of poignant regret to the mind of our reformer. It was, indeed, so painful a subject, that he seldom trusted himself to speak upon it.

In a letter to Mr. Pitt, 5th of May, 1783, he informs that gentleman, that, with a hope of affording him that satisfaction which must result from a prospect of support to the people whose cause he had undertaken, he had the pleasure to acquaint him, that parochial petitions from the unrepresented had been signed in various parts of the country ; and after relating the success he had met with in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, he proceeds to say, that hearing Mr. Pitt was inclined to offer a specific plan of reform, he trusted that, for

the sake of his popularity, as well as for the sake of the country, it would be such as should insure the complete re-instatement of the people in their rights.

From a letter on the affairs of India, written about this time, it appears that Major Cartwright was decidedly adverse to Mr. Fox's proposed system of government in that country, and that in common with many of the most strenuous friends of liberty (among whom may be numbered Mr. Wyvill, Dr. Jebb, Mr. Horne Tooke, Sir Cecil Wray, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Capel Lofft, Mr. Thomas Day, Mr. Granville Sharp, &c.), he kept aloof from, and wholly disapproved of the Coalition* Administration.

In all his public exertions he had a firm friend and coadjutor in the amiable Dr. John Jebb, a few of whose letters will be given, because they throw some light on the events of the time, and also, because they evince his indefatigable earnestness in the cause, while, like his equally zealous friend, he was labouring under the effects of delicate health and a shattered constitution.

“Parliament Street, April 12, 1783.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I wrote in such a hurry the last time that I was almost unintelligible. I write now to request

* In a letter dated 14th of May, 1783, Major Cartwright says of the coalition, “I know not, however, but it may have been of use to *us*, for it has taught the people to depend upon *themselves*.”

your forgiveness for omitting to move the reprinting of the excellent letter signed 'A Merchant.' I will make amends by greater exertions. This morning I called to quicken the appearance of 'Aristides', when, behold! Mr. Parkes objected to inserting it, on account of the first part being too strong. I have taken it from him, but what to do I know not: the *people* have no paper.

"I have no doubt but the 'Merchant' will be reprinted by our society; I am only vexed I have lost so much time. Mr. Yates had a fall from his horse last night, and could not attend the meeting, which prevented much business being done. I got a resolution passed, however, to have an accurate list of all the petitions, and another for the appointment of a sub-committee to draw up from our own materials a state of the boroughs, with extracts from borough petitions before the house, to give the members before the 7th of May.

"Mr. Lofft has sent me an account from which I will transcribe an extract. It only shews that we must go upon the idea of doing the business out of parliament, and therefore must guard ourselves against being set down by the opinion of parliament, or of our parliamentary friends.

"A letter from Mr. Pitt has been communicated to the committee in Suffolk which I own gives me some uneasiness. He speaks that he is no well-wisher for a reform on the speculative principles of some that have given alarm; I fear he means the consti-

tutional and truly practical principles of Cartwright, the Duke of Richmond and our society. The Suffolk men have done wonders: a most admirable address to the county from the committee, signed by Middleton, appeared in the Bury Paper last Thursday. The Essex men have agreed to a petition. The meeting I am afraid was but thin, Hollis, Onley and Day were not, however, idle.'

"The dialogue written by Sir W. Jones, with a preface by Dean Shipley, is under prosecution in Wales. The grand jury have found the bill against Shipley. Kenyon was very bitter.

"It is said that the non-represented freeholders of the city of London are coming forward. If we are not persevering in holding forth the claim of the unrepresented, nothing will save us. We are beating up for recruits for another quintuple. With best wishes of both, to both,

"I remain affectionately yours,

"JOHN JEBB."

"October 2, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"To your ideas respecting Wrexham I cordially agree. Strange things are talked of here respecting coercive measures, which I cannot give credit to, though strongly asserted. I receive them as monitors to exert ourselves in procuring such declarations in favour of Dungannon, as will intimidate ministers from pursuing works of blood.

"I saw with great pleasure a letter of yours to

Colonel Sharman, respecting the unity of purpose at Dungannon, inserted by order of the committee in the Belfast Paper. Dr. Price's letter is to be in the Dublin Evening. He is, as may be supposed from his liberal principles, a friend to the right of suffrage being granted to Roman Catholics, but I believe he stops short of universal suffrage. Would it not be adviseable to mention that emigration is likely to be the consequence of the rights of the lower orders being withheld? Men are not likely to prize a country where they are denied the rights of citizenship.

“ The Connaught volunteers are to meet on the sixth instant.

“ The Munster men have appointed a committee of correspondence. Their delegates meet the 1st of June. Lord Kingsbury is, I think, on the committee; and Sir Edward Newenham, M.P. is a member of the Leinster committee. I have sent one of your addresses to him, with Granville Sharp's ‘Claims of the People.’ The preamble to the Report of the Westminster sub-committee is inserted in a Belfast paper.

“ If Wyvill will act with us, he will be of great service, for he is a good man, spirited, manly and persevering.”

“ 30th November, 1783.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ The Irish have established a constitutional society to support those who are prosecuted by

Government, and I hope will establish one for constitutional information. They have inserted our first address to the public. The government are proceeding by attachment against the sheriffs, &c. who have convened meetings, and all persons who dare to hint almost a liberal sentiment. Never was the freedom of the press so attacked, and Mansfield has done all he could in England to destroy it.

“ Let us not despond, my dear friend ; let us be intent in season, and out of season, and go on hoping against hope, for our cause is good.

“ Lord Shelburne is to be a Marquis and Lord Camden, to prop up a ministry, who I fear are too Jenkinsonian to do any good.

“ I told the Duke of Richmond, that as men looked sometimes to the west, for the evidence of the sun having risen—viz. when high hills in that quarter catch the first rays of the light—so I looked to Ireland for the Minister’s purposes, and there saw every thing to convince me no good was intended to our country.

“ Erskine has gained immortal honour. I wish thanks could be voted him. He declares himself a decided friend to parliamentary reform.

“ Our society is well attended, and I hope will be active this winter. I wish you were with us.

z “ Yours affectionately,
“ JOHN JEBB.”

“ Blanchard’s balloon was beyond Bromley at a

quarter after 3; it rose about half past 2. A stupendous sight."

" 13th of December, 1784.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I have had two conferences with Mr. Wyvill, who has seen Mr. Pitt, and assures me that the aforesaid gentleman will support parliamentary reform with the utmost energy, and Mr. Wyvill, who was going abroad, has suspended his journey till he hears how far friends in Yorkshire are disposed to meet, and to resolve previously to the bringing on the question in the House.

" I have heard the same from another quarter, with an idea that Mr. Pitt would not be dissatisfied were the people to stir in the business.

" Knowing the zeal and ability of our excellent friend Mr. Wyvill, I received some comfort from this information; but then finding, or at least having reason to believe, that the repeal of the Septennial Act was not a part of the plan, my heart sank within me, as I full well know that long parliaments will prevent any substantial good from being the consequence of such amendment in the representation, as Mr. Pitt would introduce and bring his friends to consent to. Besides, all this tallies ill with what is going on in Ireland, where attachments rage furiously.

" We must exhort our friends not to confide too much in the Minister, who, I am still satisfied, means to do as little as possible, or rather, has leave to do but little.

“ In short, the whole is a mystery to me, notwithstanding what I have told you. Sure, I am, that the * * * * will never permit the smallest good to be done to the constitution if he can help it. One end and object has hitherto appeared throughout; viz. the destruction of liberty, civil and religious, throughout the dominions of the crown, nor have his opponents, the coalition, a much better object. At least, when in power, they did what they could to damp the rising spirit in the sister kingdom.

“ With respect to the Dean of St. Asaph, the friends of Mr. Fox appear to be in earnest, and I mention it to their credit, and I shall be glad to do the same with respect to Mr. Pitt, if he acts with regard to reform like a man in earnest.

“ I have urged to our worthy friend, Mr. Martin, the propriety of having meetings of our friends in town, of both houses, so as to form a third party in the houses; viz. the party of the people.

“ Our meeting at the Shakespeare was full of energy. I wish you had been there.

“ Mr. Wyvill is at Nerot's Hotel. You will of course hear from him how things are going on; but be *stern* about the septennial bill.

“ The papers enclosed might do good if inserted in the Nottingham paper.

“ Your's,

“ JOHN JEBB.”

“ 18th December, 1784.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ As I think you ought to know what is going forward respecting the great cause, I send you the following which has been entered on the books of our society. The words were written by Mr. Wyvill yesterday at Mr. Batley's.

“ ‘ Mr. Wyvill has been authorized by Mr. Pitt to assert, that he will bring on the question of parliamentary reformation as early as possible in the next session, that he will support his propositions to the utmost of his strength, and exert his whole power and credit as a man and a minister, honestly and boldly to carry such a meliorated system of representation as may place the constitution on a footing of permanent security.’

“ On this you must make your own comments. Mr. Pitt's friends in various quarters have had hints that he would not be displeased if the people were to call for a reform.

“ Mr. Wyvill certainly wishes to get Yorkshire to meet, but I look with watchfulness for what is to be done about short parliaments. Write to Mr. Wyvill: you will then know for yourself, and may act accordingly.

“ May Heaven direct your exertions. With every kind remembrance of both to both,

“ I remain your's affectionately,

“ JOHN JEBB.”

At this time the cause of reform wore a more promising aspect than at any other period of its

history, not were those by whom it was espoused, then stigmatized as low-bred, meddling, discontented persons. It was, as we have seen, ostensibly patronized even by ministers; the cause was conducted both in England and Ireland by men of rank and consequence, nor would it be easy in a work of this nature to give even an abstract of the proceedings of the deputies from the unrepresented; of the quintuple alliance, as it was called, or of the society for Constitutional Information.

In all these it is hardly necessary to say, that Major Cartwright continued to take an active part; and if the cause have since declined, and seem to sleep awhile with its unwearied champion, that circumstance cannot be attributed to *his* want of zeal or perseverance.

In 1784, he wrote "Internal Evidence", addressed to the author* of "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform", in which, with much clearness of argument, he shews how inconsistent with pure Christianity are the doctrines of Toryism. During a short absence in London in this year (1784), he thus informs Mrs. Cartwright, that he had given his servant warning to leave him: "George has grievously offended me by going to an execution, after I had given him what I thought sufficient hints of disapprobation, and in order to prevent it, had desired him to attend me with the horses. As soon as I saw him, I told him I did not wish to

* Soame Jenyns, Esq.

have under the same roof with me, a person who could have any pleasure in seeing his fellow-creatures ignominiously put to death."

It may be imagined that he was moved on this occasion to a very unusual degree of displeasure, as he was remarkable for keeping his servants a long time in his family.

In 1785, he once more obtained a meeting of the county of Nottingham, and published "A Nottinghamshire Farmer's Address to his Brother Freeholders."

It does not appear that he published any thing on the subject of reform in Parliament during the two subsequent years. Being well satisfied that the cause he had most at heart was going on as he could wish, he permitted himself to enjoy comparative relaxation from his political labours.

His brother, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, had in 1786, the misfortune to lose an amiable wife, and his children a tender mother. His youngest child being thus left in helpless infancy, became at this time the adopted daughter of Major and Mrs. Cartwright.

In a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated 9th August 1786, mention is made of Mr. Cartwright's first acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce. It will doubtless interest the reader, and will be a subject of no small gratification to the friends of that gentleman, that though supposed at that time to be almost in a dying state, so valuable a life is still, at

the distance of thirty-nine years, preserved to the cause of philanthropy.

“ I dined lately at Wilford, with Mr., Mrs. and Miss Wilberforce. He is an excellent young man, but he is dying. He gave me an anecdote of Jebb, which you will be pleased to hear. In his medical note-book, found after his decease, his remarks on the cases of his patients and prescriptions, were generally accompanied by some short ejaculatory prayers to God for success to his medicines, shewing in the fullest manner, the great humility and piety of his mind.

“ When this is contrasted with his animation and ardour, his inflexibility and daringness on every occasion wherein he thought the liberties of his country or the interests of humanity concerned, how bright his character appears ! It is by reflecting on such virtue, that I am made conscious of my own deficiencies.

* * * * *

“ You owe these reflections not only to those which this anecdote of our excellent friend suggested, but also to the conversations of Wilberforce, who seems to have made the wisest preparations for the journey he is about to make.

“ He desired me to give him my opinion on Lord Mahon’s election, and wished me also to send Sir Charles Middleton my timber-plan : I have got the act, in which Mr. Pitt has hitherto

trod exactly in the steps pointed out in my plan.”

How keenly Major Cartwright felt the loss above alluded to, of his friend Dr. John Jebb, may be conceived by the following reflections, written so long afterwards as the year 1807, and which were found among his private papers :

“ In the 5th volume of Aikin’s General Biography, I have just read the life of John Jebb, the friend of my bosom, the pattern of my conduct. Would to God, I could do justice to his friendship, by shewing myself worthy of his bright example !

“ The writer, in four narrow columns, has coldly detailed the leading actions of this man’s life. In his third column he says, ‘ Opposition to the principles of the American War, and schemes for the reform of Parliament, therefore, took a powerful hold on Dr. Jebb’s mind, and induced him to stand forward on many occasions as a speaker in assemblies for political purposes.

“ ‘ It is needless to enter into the particulars of his efforts on these occasions, as the subjects have now ceased to interest ; and though Dr. Jebb’s public conduct was in the highest degree upright and consistent, yet he had too much warmth of temper and too little worldly wisdom, to be proposed as a model in this respect. His character as a party-man was injurious to him pro-

fessionally, as appeared in the failure of his attempt to obtain the place of an hospital physician, yet he had many warm friends who were ready to serve him, and his practice increased as long as his health permitted him to follow it regularly.’

“Gracious God! that I should live to see John Jebb held forth, by a professed friend to virtue, as “a man of too much warmth of temper, and too little worldly wisdom, to be proposed as a model’ of right public conduct!

“If emotions the most poignant, in reading this passage, if the strictest reference to the precepts of morality and religion, and the most rigid scrutiny of reason, can justify reverence and affection for an exalted character, I ought to feel that reverence and affection for the memory of John Jebb; and, for the very reasons which have induced his biographer to undervalue him, to hold him up as a bright exemplar to a degenerate world!

“If his feelings were acute, and his temperament warm, they served the ends for which the Deity has given us feeling and sympathy, to stimulate to virtuous action; for if any man was a conscientious imitator of the mildness and benevolence of Jesus, it was my departed friend. Often, indeed, have I seen him agitated by the counter-action of the selfish and the criminally ambitious; often have I known him misrepresented and traduced with acrimony; but never did I know him retort, or on such occasions to speak or act otherwise than as the dictates of Christian charity and

political wisdom (according to my conceptions of them) dictated to him.

“ And is it true, that ‘ the principles of the American war’, and those by which every scheme for a reform of Parliament, to be worthy of regard, must be regulated, have ‘ ceased to interest’? God forbid that I should endeavour to inculcate such doctrines! God forbid that my country should be so utterly lost to public feeling, and so utterly incapable of virtuous sentiments, as to subscribe to an opinion so degrading! For me, for inspiring the rising generation to act worthily and greatly, I would propose to them the god-like example of John Jebb.”*

In 1787 Major Cartwright was zealously employed in co-operating with Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Granville Sharp, in their exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade ; a subject in which it need hardly be said, that he took the warmest interest.

On the 30th of October, at the sitting of the committee for the abolition, a letter was read from him, in which he says,

“ I congratulate you on the happy prospect of some considerable step, at least, being taken towards the abolition of a traffic, which is not only impious in itself, but, of all others, tends most to

* For the relict of Dr. Jebb, a lady of extraordinary talents and energy of mind, who survived her excellent husband many years, Major Cartwright also entertained the highest esteem and regard.

vitiate the human mind. Although procrastination is generally pernicious in cases depending upon the feelings of the heart, I should almost fear that without uncommon exertions, you will scarcely be prepared early in the next sessions for bringing the business into Parliament with the greatest advantage. But be that as it may, let the best use be made of the intermediate time, and then, if there be a presiding Providence which governs every thing in the moral world, there is every reason to hope for a blessing on this particular work.”*

The following letters from Mr. Granville Sharp were written about this time.

“ No. 15, Leadenhall Street, London,

“ October 23, 1787.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ On my arrival this day from Wicken Park, in Northamptonshire (where I have been about a fortnight, on a visit to my sister, Mrs. Prowse), I found your letter, of the 15th instant, lying on my table. The note which it inclosed (for five guineas) I paid this afternoon at Mr. Hoare’s, in Lombard Street, (the treasurer for our society,) as the subscription of the Rev. Mr. John Charlesworth, of Ossington. And your obliging letter I will take care shall be laid before the society at their next meeting.

* See Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade, Vol. I. pp. 453, 454.

“ Your former letter has already been laid before them, and I paid your subscription as soon as it came to my hands ; but I must acknowledge myself a very unworthy member of the society, though they have done me the honour to name me as their chairman, and to send me letters ready wrote (thereby saving me all the trouble) for my signature as such ; yet I have not once been able to attend their meeting ; my time being taken up by a multitude of engagements in business which cannot be postponed or delayed. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, a considerable change has taken place in our family. My brother, the surgeon, on account of an ill state of health, has left off business, quitted his great house in the *Old Jewry*, and retired to Fulham, and undertakes no kind of business except mere consultations and opinions.

“ He was so ill last Christmas, that, for near six weeks, we almost lost all hopes of his recovery. The effects of this dreadful illness has been, the *total loss of his right eye*, and the other much weakened, as well as his whole body ; but, God be thanked, he now daily recovers strength.

“ I have my study and apartments with my sister, Mrs. James Sharp, in Leadenhall Street, and am occasionally at Fulham and Wicken ; and the frequent removal takes up too much time. The new settlement at Sierra Leone, which I hoped to have formed on such a foundation that it might tend to put a stop to the *slave trade* in that part of Africa,

has hitherto been unfortunate ; first, by jealousies and dissensions between the whites' and blacks, and the false suspicion that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay. This occasioned mutinies, and delays, whereby the arrival of the settlers on the African coast was unhappily postponed to the midst of the rainy season, which occasioned sickness, and the loss of many lives: though they were not without sickness even on our own coast; for more than fifty died between the river Thames and Plymouth. However, I have lately had the satisfaction to hear, that those who were sick begin now to recover; that they have purchased about twenty miles of land, which promises to be very fertile; and that each man has already got a separate hut on his own *town-lot*, besides their *country* allotments; so that I hope matters will, at length, come round to be a little more satisfactory. I am re-printing the Code of Regulations which I drew up for them, and will send you a copy as soon as finished. With compliments to Mrs. Cartwright,

“ I remain, dear Sir,

“ Your sincere friend and humble servant,

“ GRANVILLE SHARP.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.”

“ London, 3d Nov. 1787.

“ SIR,

“ I had the pleasure to lay before the committee of the Society instituted for the purpose of “ Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade”, your accept-

able favour, of the 15th ultimo. The inclosure from the Rev. Mr. Charlesworth is added to the list of subscriptions; and the committee request you will have the goodness to convey their thanks to that gentleman for the offer of his services in support of the cause they are engaged in. How far preaching on the subject may be useful in your neighbourhood, you and he must be the best judges: but it may not be improper to inform you, that Mr. Clarkson has adopted that measure at Manchester, where a very liberal subscription has been entered into; and we are informed, that every clergyman in the place has engaged to address their respective congregations from the pulpit, in support of the undertaking.

“ We are clearly of opinion, that the nature of the slave-trade needs only to be known to be detested; and, therefore, that the spreading that knowledge, whether by preaching or by the spreading of tracts on the subject, must be useful.

“ The committee are very happy in having your hearty concurrence in this business, and cannot entertain a doubt that you will endeavour to engage all your friends in Parliament to give it their support, whenever the question may be there agitated, and which we trust will be done in the course of the next session.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ GRANVILLE SHARP.”

In 1788 Mr. Cartwright had the misfortune to enter into a speculation which turned out very differently from his expectations, and which involved many others in distress and inconvenience.

This was the erection of a large mill at Retford, in Nottinghamshire, for manufacturing wool. On account of its being covered in on the 5th of November, the centenary of the Revolution, 1688, it was called the Revolution-mill; and a hundred of King William's shillings were given to the workmen to regale themselves. From a variety of causes and untoward circumstances, with which it is not necessary to trouble the reader, this undertaking entirely failed between two and three years after its commencement.

It is considered only an act of justice to those who unfortunately suffered by this catastrophe, that, with a candour and liberality very uncommon, they exonerated the chief promoter of the scheme from all blame in the conduct of its affairs. How keenly he felt upon the subject, may be gathered from the following letter, bearing date 22d February, 1790:

“ Your generosity and affection, my dear * * *, are cordials that give me the greatest support on this trying occasion. For my own loss, for my own trouble, I care not; but the apprehension of loss to my friends, and to those, in particular, who cannot afford it, or make themselves amends by

other exertions, must sit heavy on my mind until I see those apprehensions removed.

“* * and * * have done every thing which friendship could dictate to make me easy in the present state of affairs, and are even ready to make a farther advance., * * * writes me more composedly than I had expected. I have written round to propose a meeting at Doncaster on the 10th of March.

“Your generous offer must not be accepted: when you mention the probability that I may hereafter have it in my power to make amends to such as may suffer on this occasion, I fear that such prospect is too distant to afford me any comfort. Prior to this mill-adventure, from which I flattered myself with relief from the burden of debt incurred in the purchase of Marnham, I was much oppressed with the interest-money I had to pay, and this additional misfortune will render the most rigid economy necessary: on this account I mean to resign my commission in the militia*; and if it is thought requisite, I shall think it my duty to take up my residence at Retford, till the affairs can be placed in better hands. Believe me, if this cloud blows over, I shall never more embark in any sea of adventure where disappointment can give me a moment’s uneasiness.”

Two anecdotes which shall be related in this

* This intention was afterwards relinquished.

place, apply to very different periods in the life of Major Cartwright; one having occurred prior to the American war, and the other subsequently to the time now under consideration: but as they are illustrative of his strict and almost rigid scrupulousness in pecuniary affairs, they shall be here inserted. Many others might be adduced, but as these have already appeared in print, it is conceived that no confidence is violated by thus confirming their correctness.

The first of them is related in the work called "Public Characters for 1799", and was supplied by an intimate friend, who was well acquainted with the circumstances of his private life.

Major Cartwright happening one evening to call on an American gentleman connected with the principal leaders of the American cause, observed a person whose dress shewed him to be just arrived on horseback, and who, after whispering a few words to his friend, retired.

After a little conversation the American became absorbed in thought, and Major Cartwright judging his visit unseasonable, was about to leave the room. His friend stopped him, and again attempted to converse with him, but he soon sank into silence and abstraction. After many attempts to be allowed to retire, his friend again stopped him with symptoms of earnestness; at length the visitor was forcing himself away, when his friend stepped between him and the door, and in a few seconds, turning round in agitation, he said "I am going

to shew the confidence I place in you. France has just signed a treaty with my country, the man you saw has brought me the intelligence express from Paris; and as he came some hours before the English ambassador was informed of the fact, ministers will probably remain in ignorance of the circumstance all to-morrow." He then gave an outline of the treaty, in which the certainty of a war with France was the most striking feature. .

In giving him this information, Major Cartwright had reason to suppose that his friend purposely afforded him an opportunity of making an advantageous speculation in 'Change Alley, and the writer well remembers the answer which he once gave to a gentleman who frankly told him, he was hardly justifiable in permitting such an occasion to escape him. "In all transactions", said he, "between man and man there should be equality of information. If I am in possession of a secret which another has no possible means of obtaining, we are not on equal terms, and every advantage I gain in consequence of such a secret, is in my opinion a fraudulent transaction."

The second anecdote appeared in 1820, to the surprise of his family, to whom he had never mentioned the subject. It was related by Mr. Godfrey Higgins in a letter addressed to the House of Commons, and was as follows:—

"I cannot refrain from doing an act of justice

to that much abused and defamed gentleman, Major Cartwright. Some years ago he was bound in many thousand pounds for a friend who was unfortunate in trade. My father being interested, through the medium of a banker, who had also failed, and wanted a considerable part of it, I was sent to London at the time Sir James Sanderson, who was, I believe, also interested, was mayor, to enquire about it. I called on the Major, and upon telling him the object of my visit, looking at me very stedfastly, he said, 'Sir, I am instructed by my law adviser, that the transaction betwixt my friend and the banker, for whom you want this money, was usurious, and that I am not bound by law to pay a single farthing of it.' I dare say I looked rather uncomfortable, because my law adviser had instructed me precisely to the same effect; but after a moment's pause, he added, 'I was honestly bound for my friend, and I shall honestly pay the money; I only ask time, to sell part of my estate to raise it, till when, I will pay you five per cent.' The estate was sold, and the money paid before the year's end. I cannot believe that this gentleman wants a revolution, that he may profit by a scramble for the property of the rich."

The members of his own family, as has been already noticed, being ignorant of this transaction till an extract from Mr. Higgins's letter appeared

in a newspaper, he was asked whether it was correctly stated, and replied that "such a circumstance did certainly occur."

In 1788, he bought a large estate on very reasonable terms at Brothertoft, near Boston in Lincolnshire, whither he removed some time afterwards from Marnham, which has now become the property of Earl Brownlow.

A great part of the produce of his farm was woad, and his arrangements of the process in preparing this ingredient for the use of the dyers, excited universal admiration, and were far more perfect than any which had before been adopted.

The cultivation of this article being in the hands of a few persons, among whom there had always been much ill-will and rivalry, it was his wish to form with them a friendly union for their mutual advantage, which he thus explains in a letter to his nephew: "I have well nigh completed a negotiation with my brother woad-growers, whereby we shall probably come to act in union, instead of opposition to each other, in future.—These consequences are expected to follow: viz:

"1st. To keep our woad labourers quiet, without shifting annually from one master to another.

"2d. To regulate the proportion of land each grower shall sow with woad, increasing or decreasing with the demand at market, and in due proportion.

"3d. To fix a reasonable price, as the whole

business will be in our own hands, and to sell for ready money only.

“ There is but one grower with whom we have had any difficulty—after much conversation I found the secret of his hanging back, which is, that he has borrowed considerably of the dyers. He is extremely deficient in intellect, and full of mean passions, so that it is no easy matter to assist the blockhead in serving himself.”

Mr. Arthur Young, in his agricultural works, has made honourable mention of the skilful manner in which Major Cartwright managed his various concerns of this nature; and certain it is, that notwithstanding the great attention he bestowed on political questions during sixteen years' residence at Brothertoft, the estate was a very advantageous concern. In fact, nothing but the extraordinary profits he made from it, could have enabled him to stand against the overwhelming difficulties in which a variety of circumstances, connected with other persons, at different times involved him.

During a short absence in town in the year 1788, he thus writes to Mrs. C. : “ To-morrow at nine I am to meet Clarkson on a sub-committee about the slave-trade.—Things go on to our mind in that business.—In the Constitutional Society we are also at work.—The great objects of that institution are a severer trial of patience; but where truth and the rights of nature are the foundation, public re-

form and public happiness the objects of pursuit, there are motives enough for perseverance under any discouragement. Should the West Indian slaves, who but the other day had not the slightest prospect of such an event, find themselves emancipated, who shall say that there is no hope of our constitutional rights and liberties being restored?

“ To despair in a good cause, is already to depart from virtue and approach towards atheism. It is ours with cheerfulness, with faith, with hope, to enterprise every thing for the good of our fellow-creatures, leaving the issue to unerring Wisdom, and the goodness of the Supreme Being.

“ Having had a little leisure from my law business, I have employed myself in religious reading. Considering the diversities of opinion among the most pious, it would be very presumptuous in one so unlearned as I am, to say there are no difficulties in the Scripture, but it would be weak and rash to adopt without hesitation that solution attempted, but not in my opinion accomplished, by the author of the ‘ Articles of the English Church.’

“ But when we lay aside these nothings called articles, and resort to the Scriptures themselves, these apparent difficulties by degrees disappear, and the scheme of Divine Providence appears very consistent with those attributes which belong to God as the Eternal Being.”

Notwithstanding the fears and warnings long

before expressed by his friend Jebb, who, even in the year 1785, had declared it as his opinion that, 'politically speaking, Pitt was the worst man living, and would go greater lengths to destroy liberty than any minister ever did before him,' Major Cartwright still flattered himself with the fond, but delusive, hope of Mr. Pitt's sincerity in the cause of reform.

That gentleman having received, as it was confidently said, a *carte blanche* from his late Majesty, and being therefore possessed of full power, and, as Major Cartwright hoped, of sincere inclination to become the saviour of his country's liberties, the sanguine reformer greatly relaxed at this time in his efforts to bring about that result which he conceived to be rapidly approaching.

In the year 1789, however, he began to entertain some doubts upon the subject, as appears by his answer to a letter from the Right Honourable Thomas Steele, who had offered him the interest of Government in a contest for the borough of Retford.

"As a statesman and a minister", says Major Cartwright, "for conducting national business, I consider him as the first character. In respect of parliamentary reform and a few other points, I confess he has not satisfied me; but my objections go no farther than doubts, and these doubts are mixed with hopes of somewhat great and good in future.

"From the other party I look not for such

things, nor expect any thing good for 'the public, except now and then to serve a turn on principles merely factious.

“ Let your friend be the instrument of blessing to this country, and if I mistake not his character, his happiness would be equal to his power; he would be the idol of his contemporaries, and unborn ages would revere his name.—But while I hope, I tremble.”

It was during the negotiation respecting the borough of Retford, that Major Cartwright told Mr. Steele that however the interest of Government might assist his election, yet he requested him to remember that “ *he had no political gratitude.*”

In addition to Mr. Steele's offer, he also received an invitation to the same effect from a decided majority of the burgesses of Retford*, but finding that their terms and his own were incompatible, he took his leave of the borough, and Mr. Petrie was afterwards elected on the same interest.

In Oldfield's “Representative History,” Part II., Vol. II., p. 340, the author says, “Major Cartwright was invited by a part of the corporation and a great majority of the freemen, to represent this borough at the above period (1789), and if he

* One of Major Cartwright's ancestors, who was member for this town during the civil wars, received so dreadful a crush in the lobby of the House of Commons (it was believed not accidentally) while the members were entering, that he died in consequence.

had accepted the invitation would have been at the head of the poll, as about three-fourths of the electors had engaged to give him their votes."

In this year the King's recovery being declared, public rejoicings took place, and amongst others, the old family-mansion at Marnham, which the Major had not then quitted, witnessed a festive scene. The house was illuminated and prepared for the reception of the neighbouring farmers, their wives, and children; dancing occupied a number of young persons in the court-yard, while three sheep roasted whole, and a proportionate quantity of ale, refreshed the labourers who were seated at long tables erected for the occasion on the lawn.

The French Revolution at this time offered an extraordinary spectacle to the reflecting mind, and the hopes derived from the emancipation of a long-enslaved and impoverished people, could not but excite the liveliest sentiments of pleasure in the heart of one to whom the rights of his fellow-men were dear. He accordingly addressed a letter to the President of the Committee of Constitution of the States General, on the 18th of August 1789, in which he says: "Degenerate must be that heart which expands not with sentiments of delight at what is now transacting in the National Assembly of France. The French, Sir, are not only asserting their own rights, but they are also asserting and advancing the general liberties of mankind.

" France herself takes the constitution of Eng-

land for her model ; in so doing, she acts with much wisdom, since, in its theoretic purity, and when the presidency of a king is the choice of a people, it is a constitution above all praise. But in the sacred names of freedom and virtue, let her, Sir, be warned to shun those deplorable errors, through the means of which that admirable constitution has fallen a victim to corruption.

“ The principal errors, to which I have alluded, shall be briefly touched upon. At the period of our Revolution, the legislature declared and enacted in loose general terms that popular elections ought to be free, and that parliaments ought to be frequently held, but the more minute rights and provisions on which alone that freedom of election and the benefit of frequent sessions of Parliament were to depend, our ancestors unfortunately omitted. To guard, Sir, against similar omissions in giving a constitution to France, is worthy of the jealous vigilance and sternest virtue of her leaders.

“ God grant she may interpose such a guard ; and thereby establish such a freedom that neither statesmen can undermine, nor representatives betray ! In an assembly of patriots, nothing, Sir, in my humble judgment, is more practicable. And here we have an opportunity of admiring the great goodness of Divine Providence. In the wide range of political disquisition, as well as in the boundless fields of religious contemplation, there is doubtless exercise for faculties the most

acute, and genius the most sublime. Yet, so admirably are things contrived for our happiness, that all, which in either case is necessary to salvation, is level with all capacities; and the unlettered peasant may be taught to practise it with a certainty of success. The principles on which depend the freedom of election are very few and very simple, nor are those respecting the ordinary sittings of a legislative assembly less obvious. Would France be free in fact as well as in theory, these principles must be held sacred. And give me leave, Sir, to remark, that by this test the people may assuredly discriminate between those who are truly the friends of public freedom, and those who in a national revolution have an eye to their own aggrandisement or separate interest.

“To the committee at which you preside, I take the liberty of sending with this a collection of tracts by several hands. The fund of political knowledge, and the brilliant talents so conspicuously displayed at this important juncture in France, make it greatly to be doubted, whether such writings can in any degree contribute towards the object of her present pursuit. But as these distinctly point out essential provisions which in the English Revolution were neglected, to the extreme injury of the people, and which from their own nature may be liable to be overlooked, while the great outlines of civil government principally occupy the attention; my anxiety for the inter-

ests of freedom, which are the interests of every country, would not allow me to omit presenting the French with this humble offering.

“ That the two countries may thus run the race of glory, cementing a durable friendship by the similarity of their government, constituting an union of interests, and by a genuine love of freedom, which leads to peace and all the amiable intercourses of polished society, is the sincere prayer of one who has the honour to subscribe himself, with great respect, .

“ Sir, &c. &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

The disappointment and regret he afterwards experienced in beholding so promising an event degenerate into anarchy, impiety, and confusion, will be mentioned hereafter in his own words* ; at present, it needs only to be remarked, that he always attributed the excesses into which the French nation fell, to their ignorance in the science of government, and their having, as he expressed it, “ no land-marks” to direct their course†. “ England”, he would say, “ being better informed, and having her antient constitution, her

* See letter to a friend at Boston, 1793. Also a letter to Mr. Hardy, in this Work.

† It appears, however, by Hottoman's “ Franco-Gallia”, that France did originally possess many free institutions, but it is probable that, from the long-established despotism of her rulers, and the want of a free press, the recollection of these had long been banished from the majority of the nation.

Magna Charta, and her Bill of Rights to recur to, would never be in the same danger from the ambition or wickedness of designing demagogues.

But from whatever cause those atrocities originated, he had but too much reason, even in a political point of view, to lament them, for they were fatal to the progress of that rational liberty which was the object of all his hopes and labours.

Great as might be the ultimate benefit to France, in diffusing property and destroying feudal rights and tenures, he saw that for a time, at least, the Revolution would strengthen the hands of despotism in other countries, and that notwithstanding the moderation with which many subsequent changes were effected in the peninsulas of Italy and Iberia, it would be long held up as a bugbear to alarm.

In 1791, Major Cartwright published "Plain Truths for Plain Men, by a Holland Fen-Farmer", a small pamphlet, which was distributed gratis through the country.

This short address was occasioned by the disturbances which had arisen in that part of Lincolnshire. The labourers had combined against the farmers, in consequence of their jealousy of the poor Irish who annually came over to assist at the harvest. These disturbances had caused much injury to the corn, and great depredations had been committed, he therefore earnestly recommended that the farmers should arm themselves, in order to give the necessary assistance to the magistrates, and to support them as the law requires.

A meeting took place at Boston, for the suppression of these riots, and an association was formed at his suggestion, which co-operating with the magistrates, the best effects were experienced, and the tranquillity of the district was restored.

From this address a few extracts are here given:—

“ One musket and one bayonet in defence of peace and law, is a match for a score of scythes in the hands of men conscious of criminality. When each farmer is known to have arms for himself, and for two, or three, or more trusty persons, and all are ready on the least alarm to defend themselves and neighbours, there will be no bullying any one out of the profits of his harvest, and the idea of mob-law will become ridiculous.”

“ Riots, my friends, are a disgrace to any country inhabited by civilized men, originating in the folly and wickedness of a few lawless persons; their beginnings are small, but who can tell where they will end? And who can restore to the community property once destroyed, or lives once lost?”

“ I have told you that it is your duty to provide arms; it is to be found, not only in our law-books, but in our Acts of Parliament, which unhappily for the peace of the kingdom are suffered to lie unread and forgotten.”

During this year Major Cartwright attended a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile. In consequence of this

circumstance, the Duke of Newcastle commissioned his brother, Captain Cartwright, with whom he was in habits of great intimacy, to acquaint him that his Grace could not, consistently with his political opinions, promote him to the vacant lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment. As he had, however, on three previous occasions* been defrauded of his just claims to promotion, it may be fairly presumed, that his Grace's declaration was not so much the result of any new circumstance, as the continuation of that species of conduct by which he had been for so many years thwarted and annoyed.

A less determined man than himself would have resigned many years before ; but in this respect he had never felt any inclination to *oblige* his opponents, by pursuing the course into which they were anxious to drive him. His inflexibility, or, as they probably termed it, his perverseness and obstinacy† were such that they were obliged at last to make use of the supposed authority of an Act

* His friends W. Sherbrook, Esq. and Gilbert Cooper, Esq. whose son (Colonel Gardiner) is now lieutenant-colonel of the Nottinghamshire Militia, both at different times quitted the regiment in disgust at the treatment Major Cartwright experienced. See letter to the Duke of Newcastle, p. 10. It must not be forgotten also that Mr. Sherbrook had nobly refused to accept the lieutenant-colonelcy, because he considered his friend's claim as superior.

† His old acquaintance, Mr. John Nicholls, M.P. author of "Recollections Personal and Political", used humourously to say to Mrs. Cartwright, "Your husband, Madam, is the best-bred obstinate man I ever was acquainted with."

of Parliament to get rid of so intractable an officer.

In the letter which Captain Cartwright wrote to his brother, in order to announce to him the Duke of Newcastle's message, he says, "I presume you will immediately resign"; but he was still deaf to the hint, and in the month of September the Duke, without giving him the slightest intimation of the circumstance, commissioned another officer as major in his place.

Considering this transaction as wholly illegal, he paid no attention to it, but declared publicly that he should appear at his post in uniform, whenever the regiment assembled. *It was not however called out*, and at last, on the 23d of October, 1792, the great object of his dismissal was accomplished.

By virtue of a recent Act of Parliament, which provided that at the end of five years a field-officer may be discharged, he was superseded, but as the prescribed periods, according to that act, were the years 1791, 1796, 1801, &c., he always considered that his discharge was not legal.

In addition to many extraordinary, and to him highly gratifying testimonies of friendship from his brother-officers, he received the unanimous thanks of the deputy lieutenants, for his long and meritorious services.

It has been already stated that he endeavoured both by precept and example to raise the moral, as well as the military character of the regiment;

and among other proofs of inflexibility, was his constant determination never to avail himself of the allowances which he might have claimed for four horses, while he only employed two, and his refusing to sign any report in which an officer endeavoured to avail himself of a similar advantage. In this particular his strictness was considered by some as overstrained, but we believe few will condemn the principle on which he acted.

He now published his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and as he was aware of that nobleman's having challenged a gentleman of the bar for having as he thought taken undue liberties with his name, it must be confessed that he treats his opponent with very little ceremony. "For aught I know," says he, "this accusation may be metamorphosed into a breach of privilege, and I the accuser be called before the bar of that right honourable house of which you are a member, to answer to the complaint. Should it so happen, my defence, my Lord, would be still your condemnation, and at that bar I should assert that your conduct has been illiberal, dishonourable, and unconstitutional."

It cannot be matter of surprise that he was stung by a keen sense of injustice, in finding himself thus unceremoniously removed from a regiment, the raising of which had been greatly assisted by his father and himself, and whose train-

ing had so long been his pride and pleasure* ; considering the subject also as mixed with political feeling, it became in his mind almost a public question.

In reply to a friend, who had expressed a hope that he would not mix any political allusions with his expostulations to the Duke, he thus writes :

“ You wish it to be without a mixture of politics, but you do not recollect that the Duke’s reason for setting me aside was on account of my political principles. Without politics it would be a petty dispute between A. and B., but taken on its true ground, that of avowed hostility to a friend of reform, it becomes necessary to shew the borough-mongers in their true colours. But in doing this, we must shew that our resentments are not merely personal, but arise from the injuries done to our country.”

In this year was instituted the Society of the “ Friends of the People”, associated for the purpose of obtaining parliamentary reform. Its first declaration on the 11th of April, together with a list of its members, will be found in the Appendix (No. VII).

* The Nottinghamshire Militia being quartered at Boston soon after Major Cartwright’s dismissal, he went out on horseback to meet them on their arrival. The officers, among whom was the gentleman who superseded him, experienced, during their stay, his usual attention and hospitality.

The Society of Friends to the Liberty of the Press was also founded about this period. In all these societies, he was anxious to counteract the efforts of Thomas Paine, who laboured to introduce into the popular societies of the day, the doctrines of pure republicanism; and to attain this end, on the 9th of May Major Cartwright attended a meeting of the Friends of the People, where he carried a resolution in favour of king, lords, and commons*.

Though in forming a new government in another part of the world, Major Cartwright would certainly have preferred a form of government as simply republican as would be consistent with security from anarchy, he never wished in his own country to interfere with its antient institutions. "He would rather", as an ingenious writer has observed, in a character given of him since his decease, "have seen the old edifice repaired and beautified, than have built an entirely new one in its place."—"He who wishes to reform an antient state," says Machiavel, "and constitute it into a free country, ought at least to retain the shadow of old forms."—How much more, then, must our

* "Mr. Horne Tooke objected to the opinions of Mr. Paine on this subject. He also agreed with Major Cartwright, that we had a glorious constitution, and that we had still a constitution in the books. Some honest and well-meaning men who know nothing of the constitution in the books, and who judge only by the present practice and from what they see, deny that we have any constitution."—Stephen's *Life of Horne Tooke*, Vol. II., p. 324.

reformer have been impressed with the danger of disturbing those antient forms, the substance of which might be safely retained without, in his opinion, endangering the ultimate freedom of his country!

To the measures he was taking in these societies he thus alludes in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated 10th of May. "I have had the pleasure to prevail on a large society, which had hinted at doctrines alarming to the higher powers, to adopt some resolutions which would free them from censure, and at the same time go directly to our great reform in the representation.

"I am to call to-morrow on Mr. Grey, the proposed mover of reform next session; when I hope to give him strong reasons for our *new society* for reform, consisting of many members of parliament, adopting the same line of conduct as other societies in the metropolis have done."

" 26th May, 1792.

"Do not, I beg, make yourself uneasy; the worst that could happen would be a prosecution for a libel, in which case I should find bail and stand trial. If cast, it might cost me £100, and perhaps a few months' residence in the King's Bench with many baronets and right honorables. But I have no fear of this kind, as I am not disposed to misrepresent any thing or any person; or to use my pen in any cause than that of freedom and the constitution.

“As to the general question whether it is right or not for me or any other man to stand forward in the cause, we must decide whether it be or not the will of God that truth and justice should prevail. Temper in conduct is right, but moderation in principle is being *unprincipled**.

“A man who is indifferent to the well-being of his fellow-creatures, may be without trouble, but he must be also without virtue.”

The supporters of Government having in this year promoted the raising of volunteer corps in all the different districts of the country, Major Cartwright endeavoured to substitute, in the place of this partial system, that constitutional one of inviting every tax-paying householder to bear arms, and by appointing committees of magistrates and gentlemen to organize and regulate such a force.

He published, in January 1793, a letter to a friend at Boston, in which he gives his opinions on the progress of the French Revolution, of all the acts of which it has been the fashion to assert that he was the indiscriminate champion and admirer.

In this letter (speaking of the execution of the

* Major Cartwright always expressed the same opinion in conversation, and once in particular made use of these words in the hearing of the writer. “Moderation in practice may be commendable, but moderation in principle is detestable. Can we trust a man who is moderately honest, or esteem a woman who is moderately virtuous?”

King of France), he says, " I am amongst those who entertain doubts, as to the competency of human authority, in any case whatever, deliberately to punish with death. In this particular case I can the less excuse it, as, so far from having been necessary or prudent, it seems to have been in the highest degree impolitic. And when I reflect on the disservice it is likely to do to the cause of freedom, which I must ever hold to be the cause of virtue and of man, most sincerely do I lament it. The true cause of this event I can nowhere discover, but in the mean, revengeful, murderous spirit of a small faction, the demagogues of an ignorant rabble, contaminated by all the vices which, in a succession of ages, grow out of DESPOTISM, in a vicious and overgrown capital ; a faction who are a disgrace to human kind, and the enemies to justice, to humanity and virtue. How so many of the convention could be drawn, or rather driven, into the views of those men who thirsted for the King's blood, I can only account for from the feebleness of human reason while under the agitations of fear and other violent passions. Men but just emerged from the darkness of despotic government, and whose resentments towards it were yet exquisitely felt, could not be in so dispassionate a temper, nor have their judgments so ripened to the true principles of jurisprudence, as if they had been more fortunate in their political education.

" The virtue and magnanimity, however, of that

considerable number whose votes were for saving the King's life, will be their lasting praise, notwithstanding their voice was borne down by the voice of the majority, which made the death of the King the act of the convention. The act, if unauthorized by the law, or by the constitution, or by necessity, as appears to have been the case, was doubtless murder*.

“Before we permit our own rulers, under the pretext of a violated treaty and an act of wickedness amongst the rulers of France, to involve us in a war against the French people and ‘French principles’, it may be worth while to consider the company which these very consistent ministers mean us to keep on the occasion. When we look to the three leaders of the confederacy, and reflect, not only on the former partition of Poland, but on the present state of that miserable nation, a prey to those three wolves, with what reverence must we be inspired for such honest, worthy respecters of treaties and the rights of mankind—for such true friends to liberty under a limited monarch! for such admirers of a constitution of king, lords and commons, as settled in Poland at the glorious revolution of 1791!—and how cordially must we

* Monsieur de Genlis, husband to the celebrated Author of *Adèle et Theodore*, distinctly declared, that his reason for voting against the death of the King, was not merely on the ground of impolicy, but of illegality. In giving this vote he remarked to his friends, that he signed his own death-warrant; nor was he mistaken. Such an instance of devotion to principle deserves to be recorded.

co-operate with the maintainers of the political and pious principles declared in the manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick."

Speaking of the alliance of Sovereigns, then formed for the destruction of the French Republic, he says, "When ministers propose to a nation, lovers of justice and freedom, such a confederacy in such a cause, surely it must be in mockery! Who but such patterns of consistency, when they called on us to revenge the murder of a king, would desire us to associate with a woman who stands charged with that very crime—with having in the course of a few days, hurled from his throne, her husband and sovereign lord, seized his crown, and taken away his life in prison? Is it in such company that we are to sacrifice to the manes of murdered kings?"—P. 54.

On the 6th of May in this year (1793) was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. (now Lord) Grey, that celebrated petition drawn up by Mr. Tierney, in which it is asserted that three hundred and seven of its members were chosen, not by the collective voice of those whom they were supposed to represent, but by peers and patrons to the number of one hundred and fifty-four. This petition having been entered on the journals of the House, without impeachment of its correctness, Major Cartwright took care that it should not, as long as he lived, be easily forgotten, but took it for his text on a variety of different occasions.

Some of the letters which passed at this time between the subject of these memoirs and the leading political men of the day, would, doubtless, interest the public, and do credit to the writers; but the fear of swelling these pages to an unreasonable length, and that courtesy due to living characters, which the writer has endeavoured to keep constantly in view, have prevented their insertion.

In the latter part of the year 1793, numerous prosecutions on the part of Government manifested the alarm which took place among their adherents. That minister, who, but a few years before, was seen to pledge himself to the Society for Constitutional Information in so solemn a manner*, for the support of the cause of reform, became, at this time, the persecutor of its advocates. A general dismay spread itself through every part of the kingdom; and both England and Scotland partook largely in the prosecutions which ensued. Among the sufferers was Mr. Muir; and though not personally known to him, the interest which Major Cartwright took in his fate, may be seen by the following letter to the Duke of Richmond.

“ Brothertoft Farm, 11th December, 1793.

“ MY LORD,

“ It is long since I have offered your Grace any of my thoughts. Of late I have sometimes been

* See Dr. Jebb's Letter to Major Cartwright, 18th December, 1784.

inclined so to do, but have been restrained through an apprehension that they might not be acceptable. But a letter from on board the Hulks to the editor of the Cambridge Chronicle, dated the 3d instant, which I have just read, bears down all reluctance. Could I peruse that letter without the most poignant emotions, and without attempting to move those who have power to wipe out such a stain to humanity and to manhood as that letter affixes on my country, I should merit detestation. Read that letter, my Lord, I beseech you; and read also the trial of the writer. If he merit the treatment he has received, I, also, and your Grace, ought to be cast into dungeons among felons. But if he be the virtuous victim of that corrupt and arbitrary system which your Grace and I have laboured to reform—it is needless to say more.

“I am your Grace’s, &c.

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

But of all the political trials which took place at this time, few gave him more uneasiness than that of Daniel Holt, a printer of Newark, who was tried, in November, 1793, for publishing “An Address to the Addressers”, and “An Address to the Tradesmen, Mechanics, Labourers, and other Inhabitants of the Town of Newark, on a Parliamentary Reform.” The second of these publications was originally composed by Major Cartwright, in 1782; and receiving the sanction of the Society for Constitutional Information, a society

which we have already seen to be composed of some of the most distinguished characters of the day, was circulated throughout every part of England. It was afterwards, in 1783, inserted by its author, in a Leeds newspaper; but, of its publication by Holt, he was not aware, until informed of his approaching trial.

He then came forward to prove that he was himself the author of the paper in question, but was not suffered to give his evidence; and the unfortunate young man was condemned to a fine of fifty pounds for each publication, and to four years' imprisonment; a sentence which was the more distressing, as the latter (and most severe) part of it was of a nature which it was out of his power to relieve or to avert.

It was mentioned in the memoirs of Gilbert Wakefield, Vol. II. p. 433, "that Holt, the publisher of the Newark Journal, was imprisoned in Newgate, for re-printing, without alteration, a pamphlet by Major Cartwright, to which the minister, Pitt, as a member of the society, had given countenance and circulation; the consequence of which was, the ruin of this young man's affairs, and death a short time after."—Major Cartwright, with that scrupulous and minute regard for truth for which he was so remarkable, wrote, as follows,

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

"True, indeed, it is, that the paper (for it was a single sheet) had been written by me, and, at

my request, published in a Leeds newspaper, in 1783: true it is, that the prosecution proved the ruin of Holt's affairs; and no less true, I hold it to be, that his imprisonment was the cause of his premature death. But ill as I have learned, by experience, to think of the minister that has been mentioned, as I wish not to see added to the heavy accusations against him a grain of untruth, it is proper I should correct that part of the statement which speaks of my paper having had his countenance and circulation. Of its original appearance he certainly had no knowledge; and, for cogent reasons, I am convinced he never could have promoted, in any way, its publication.

“ The paper, Sir, was an exhortation in favour of parliamentary reformation, and contained not a sentiment in which, so long as I hold the use of reason, I shall not glory. In the year in which it was written, ‘ a political society ’ did indeed give it ‘ countenance and circulation ’ to a wide extent. I speak of the Society for Constitutional Information; but Mr. Pitt never was a member of that society; nor, as I imagine, of any other, having similar objects. Mr. Wakefield, in common with the public in general, had, as I conceive, been led into the error I have noticed, by a speech made by one of the counsel of Mr. Holt. Where that error really originated, I know not; but as often as it has been mentioned in my hearing, it has been contradicted; a circumstance which, had it been known to the sincere votary of truth, whose

loss we deplore, would assuredly have prevented the adoption of the report.

“Holt had re-published the paper in question without my knowledge; nor was I apprised of it, till applied to, on his behalf, to prove that he was not the author. With that intention I appeared at his trial; but my intended evidence was rejected as inadmissible, on the ground that such evidence would not disprove the act of publication.”

The year 1794 presents us with some remarkable occurrences; the most striking of which, both as regarding the interests of liberty, and as connected with the subject of these memoirs, are the trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, &c. whose apprehension took place in the month of May.

Upon this occasion many persons who had previously been among the most zealous, anxiously sought to withdraw their names from those societies, and to shrink, if possible, into obscurity. It is certain, that if Mr. Horne Tooke and the others had been convicted, the situation of Major Cartwright would have been a critical one. It does not appear, however, to have occasioned him any personal apprehension, as will be seen from the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated, Northallerton, 15th May, 1794.

“I saw this morning, by the newspaper, that

Hardy and Daniel Adams are apprehended for high treason, and that the papers belonging to their societies are to be laid before the House of Commons. How these men can have been guilty of treason to any thing but corruption, I do not at present comprehend. I am smiling to think how my last letter to Adams, if found, will surprise the great ones. They would suspect it to be full of treason, as they might call it; whereas I said, that the society, when I last attended it, erred in judgment."

To his old friend and former political associate the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state, he thus addressed himself, in order to obtain permission to visit Mr. Tooke during his imprisonment :

" MY LORD,

" Business having brought me to town, where I am likely to be detained a few days, I am to request your Grace's permission to visit Mr. Horne Tooke before I return into the country ; and likewise an order for my admission.

" If, my Lord, it be necessary to assign my reasons for this request, they are these : 1st. I can by no means imagine that Mr. Horne Tooke has been guilty of the crimes which have been imputed to him, to have placed him in his present situation.

“ 2dly. I am therefore led to infer that his strenuous exertions in favour of a reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, must have brought him the accusation which has occasioned his imprisonment.

“ 3dly. As I have for many years co-operated with Mr. Horne Tooke in the cause of parliamentary reform, a cause in which it is the greatest happiness of my life that I have taken an active part ; and the recollection of which will, I am persuaded, administer to my peace in the last awful moments of life ; so I cannot but sympathize with that gentleman in sufferings which I suppose his attachment to that cause must have brought upon him.

“ 4thly. I owe great obligations to Mr. Horne Tooke for his readiness on all occasions to benefit me by his great store of knowledge, as well as at different times for much friendly advice, which experience has shewn me to have been just and solid ; and having now an opportunity, with your Grace’s permission, of shewing my remembrance of those obligations by visiting him in his present situation, I should feel myself unworthy the regard or friendship of any man, if I did not endeavour to shew him that small mark of attention.

“ If I should not have the good fortune to find your Grace at the Secretary of State’s Office, I have to hope you will have the goodness, in consideration of my engagements, to excuse other per-

sonal attendances, and to cause me to be favoured with your Grace's answer, directed to the Gray's Inn Coffee-House.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" July 28, 1794.

" The Duke of Portland presents his compliments to Mr. Cartwright, and has the honour to acquaint him that he will have the same permission to visit Mr. Horne Tooke, which Government has thought proper to allow to other persons; but that if no order has been made to admit visitors in general, it is impossible for him upon Mr. Cartwright's statement of his business, to make an exception in his favour."

" TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

" 21st October, 1794.—Friday Noon.

" I am this moment subpoenaed as an evidence in favour of Mr. Horne Tooke; his trial comes on to-morrow. I therefore set out to-morrow, trusting to reach town before he can come on his defence. I should imagine that I am to say what I have known of his sentiments respecting the government of this country, which I have invariably found in favour of the *monarchical** and aristocra-

* Major Cartwright in this letter (written in great haste to inform his wife, who was from home, of his immediate departure) is guilty of an inaccuracy, which in him is very remarkable. He speaks of the *monarchical* instead of the *regal* part of our go-

tical part, although against the encroachments of those branches on the democratic. By the length of Hardy's trial, which it is supposed will occupy three days, it is not likely that Tooke's will be over before Tuesday or Wednesday."

^A No. 34, Surrey-street, Strand, Monday, Nov. 1794.

"The enormous length of Hardy's trial makes it probable Mr. Tooke's cannot come on before Thursday, and it is rumoured that the court will even adjourn it till after Term time, that the usual business of the law may not be interrupted.

"As an evidence, I am to be in great company, my old political friend the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. Mr. Tooke pleads his own cause. The solicitor will secure me a convenient place in court. Mr. Tooke was greatly rejoiced when my arrival was announced to him. He is in good spirits. The immense exertion which his defence must require will I fear go near to kill him. Erskine spoke in Hardy's defence six hours. At length he was so exhausted that he could not speak loud enough for the judges to hear him when he wanted to address them, and an intermediate person was obliged to repeat what he said.

"If Mr. Tooke's trial comes on without delay I shall still be detained longer than I expected, as

vernment, whereas he used frequently to observe that the word monarch being only applicable to the government of *one*, ought never to be used in speaking of this country, where the government consisted of three distinct branches.

it will probably require a week : if it be adjourned over the Term I shall immediately return into the country. In my subpoena (although only required as an evidence for Mr. Tooke), the trials of Hardy, Joyce, Kidd, and Richter, are mentioned, so that if any of those persons should choose to ask me a question, I shall be bound to attend the trials.

“ Tuesday, ”

“ Before I had written yesterday, not expecting to be called on, I was at the door, going out on my private business, when a summons arrived, and I went to the Old Bailey in order to be examined in behalf of Hardy, but was not called on. The Duke of Richmond was examined. Gibbs spoke like an angel. I left the Court with the full persuasion that Hardy was safe. His fate will be this day decided. I got a good place in the court at the elbow of Mr. Grey, and met some friends. These trials will, I think, turn out as I always expected, vindictive and iniquitous, and instead of suitable prosecutions for smaller offences in a very few wrong-headed men, magnified into a war upon Liberty and its virtuous defenders.

“ *But the councils of God’s providence in favour of the happiness of man will be brought about by the instrumentality of those who mean nothing less.*”*

“ 7th of November.

“ I need not tell you the heart-felt joy which

* These lines are written in large letters in the original letter.

the words 'not guilty' gave me*. Time will shew the iniquity of the great. Granville Sharp has just been with me."

" London, 22d November.

" Since the commencement of Horne Tooke's trial, I have twice carried this letter in my pocket to the court in hopes of giving you the final result. The judge is summing up, and we expect the final decision almost every minute.

" Five days' close attendance has fatigued me too much to stand the court, the bad air, and the bad accommodation this morning.

" From the evidence, it seems to me impossible to decide against him. During the whole time he has shewn himself a wonderful man. If acquitted, he will probably be Member for Westminster.

" I fear I shall be obliged to give evidence again in the next trial in a point of much importance.

" If Tooke escapes the blood-hounds I expect to dine with him. I have not time to write on other matters. As soon as possible I shall return home."

" Sunday morning.

" On the words 'not guilty', the air was rent

* On the day on which Hardy's trial ended, Major Cartwright had just time to write and to put into the post a letter containing these words, " Hardy is acquitted, J. C.", which to his anxious family were indeed words of comfort and satisfaction. " You tell me", says he, in a subsequent letter, " that grievous alarm has been experienced on my account ; but when was affection a good philosopher ?"

with joyful shouts, and Felix trembled. As soon as the shouting subsided, Tooke addressed the Court, in a very few words, thanking them for their conduct on the trial, and then said, ‘I hope Mr. Attorney-General that this verdict will be a warning to you not to attempt to shed men’s blood upon lame suspicions and doubtful inferences’, or words to that effect. He then turned round to the jury and thanked them for his life. Every man of them shed tears. This brought tears to the eyes of Tooke who, during a six days’ battle, while the advocates of power were thirsting for his life, stood as dauntless as a lion, giving a stroke to one and a gripe to another, as if he were at play. The jury were only out about five minutes, which were barely sufficient to reach the room assigned them and return. The panel on first forming the jury on Monday, bore such evident marks of management and partiality, that Erskine said to Tooke ‘By G— they are murdering you.’ Tooke started up and disputed with the Court upon their proceedings; when the Attorney-General gave up the three last challenges. Besides these three there was but one man thought at all favourable towards Tooke; judge then what they thought of the trial when they all shed tears on his thanking them for his life.

“I supped with Mr. Tooke at his surgeon’s, Mr. Cline. About twenty in company. You may imagine the joy in every bosom. I would not but have been an evidence on this trial for the world.

The Attorney-General said I was deeply implicated in the proceedings inquired into from March to May, 1792.

“ I knew this as well as he did ; but I knew likewise that what I had done would set at defiance any accusation from him until English juries should become stupid and base enough to cut their own throats.

“ By the decisions on the cases of Hardy and Tooke, which were by far the strongest for establishing a conspiracy, that bug-bear is at an end. In the case of Thelwall I can give an important testimony, and in so doing give also an answer to the Attorney-General.

“ A system of proscription and terror like that of Robespierre has been for some time growing in this country, and had these trials been otherwise decided than they have been, it would have been completed and written in innocent and virtuous blood. But the attempt has failed.”

“ 29th of November, 1794.

“ Thelwall’s trial begins on Monday. One of the principal charges made against him was by a man who perjured himself on Hardy’s trial, and is a notorious villain living by such iniquities. It is thought he will not dare to appear again. Had you seen the sneaking figure made by your friend the Duke, your sneaking kindness would be at an end. For his dukedom I would not have exchanged feelings with him.”

“ London, 1st December, 1794.

• “ I have been for half an hour this evening to Thelwall’s trial, and heard Serjeant Adair’s opening speech of seven hours, which nearly lulled me to sleep, and I was told the Chief Justice had been asleep the greatest part of the time. :

“ A joyous dinner and afternoon yesterday at Tooke’s. Four ladies, of whom two were his daughters, and a large party of men. We drank the King’s health, which I dare say was not suspected at the next door (Dundas’s), where he had Pitt and a large party to dine. Hoppner, Banks the sculptor, and Sharp the engraver, were there; busts, medals, &c. are under contemplation.

“ You ask me what I want the pamphlets for; I have a short thing to publish, in hopes of driving the nail of Arthur Young for arming the people; and finding he has acted very shamefully to me in his ‘ Example to France, a Warning to Britain’, I must say something in answer. Of all the books I ever read, this is the most dishonest.

“ It is supposed that neither the Attorney or Solicitor-General will meddle in this cause. Bearcroft is to reply. If I be called, I shall not shew any inclination to treat the crown-lawyers with contempt; but as I shall be on strong ground, I shall say strong things. Unless by mere mistake, I *cannot* say any thing to do either the prisoners, the cause, or myself harm, because I know nothing but what must do good to all.

“ I shewed some passages in Lord Abingdon’s

book to [Felix] Vaughan, junior counsel in those causes, who thinks Erskine will be delighted with them. They contain Paine's doctrine about parliaments and prosecutions, which the prosecutors bring forward as treasonable. Lord Abingdon is now a staunch courtier."*

While reading the trial of John Horne Tooke, we cannot but be struck with the manly tone of the accused. When urged by Chief Justice Eyre not to acknowledge his hand-writing too hastily, he breaks forth with all the consciousness of innocence: "I protest before God that I have never done an action, never written a sentence in public or private, I have never entertained a thought on any political subject, which taken fairly with all the circumstances of time, place, and occasion, I have the smallest hesitation to admit.

"I choose my life and character to go together; I wish to admit all I have ever said, done, or written, to save time."

Of a piece with this noble declaration is the evidence of his intrepid friend. Though examined by the Attorney-General as to his own private

* The letters from which these extracts are taken, are filled with the most minute instructions respecting the management of the farm at Brothertoft during his absence, but these although extremely curious as proofs of the attention he paid to such different and distinct subjects, are of course omitted, as not interesting to the political reader.

opinions, and as to the steps he himself would take in particular cases, he does not avail himself of that excuse which he might have fairly urged, viz. that such questions were irrelevant and insnaring; he willingly answers these questions with a fearlessness which occasioned that warning admonition on the part of Chief Justice Eyre, which will be hereafter noticed.

It might perhaps be asked in this place, why the officer of the Crown was permitted to ask a question which the witness could not answer without, in the opinion of the judge, being guilty of imprudence, especially as it appears from the following passage in the Attorney-General's speech, that he anticipated a future prosecution of the witness himself? "And with respect to Major Cartwright", says the Attorney-General, "and Captain Harewood, and in the first place Major Cartwright, I am extremely sorry to state, it is not my practice—I believe those who know me know it is not—to speak of any gentleman unless the evidence in the case requires me to mention his name, but it is clear that in these transactions between March 1792 and May 1794, Major Cartwright himself is implicated to a very considerable degree: you will recollect what I said to you", &c. &c.—See Howell's State Trials, Vol. xxv. p. 510.

The substance of Major Cartwright's evidence on this occasion is as follows, and is copied nearly


verbatim (only omitting repetitions) from the summing-up of Chief Justice Eyre, as given in Howell's State Trials :

“ The first witness on the part of Mr. Horne Tooke was Major Cartwright. He said he was a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, of which he was also considered the founder. That Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Jebb, and Mr. Lofft, were among its earliest members ; their object was to give to the public constitutional information, and particularly to promote a recovery of what they considered as their lost rights, meaning the rights of representation in the House of Commons ; he never entertained an idea that the objects of the society were changed ; and that for the last two years it was hardly in his power to attend, but he was many years in the attending. He never perceived any change of the general sentiments ; in the outset they were in favour of universal suffrage and annual parliaments ; that the Society was instituted before the Duke of Richmond's letter to Colonel Sharman was circulated, and he had many conversations with the Duke on the subject of that letter. He cannot pretend to say that it was the sole object of the Society to act upon the Duke of Richmond's plan ; the sole object was a radical reform in the House of Commons, but there was a considerable difference of opinion ; that many would have been glad of obtaining considerably less than that. He said that

if he had perceived that there were any persons who were not friends to the king's government, he would have remained in that society, and would have endeavoured to remove them, but that no man in the society ever started such an idea.

“ He had known the prisoner intimately for sixteen years, and he appeared to him, from his public conduct and private conversations, to be a steady, firm and inflexible friend to a reform in the House of Commons. That of all men he ever knew, he was the steadiest and most invariable in his sentiments; that he had never heard any thing fall from him disrespectful to the office of royalty, but the contrary; that at all times when other opinions were put abroad, he always found Mr. Tooke hold that the regal and aristocratical branches of our constitution were excellent in themselves; and that if a reform in the other branches of the constitution could be obtained, it would be, in his opinion, the most perfect of any on earth. The witness had not seen Mr. Tooke since the spring of 1792; but down to that time had observed no variation of opinion.

“ He recollected an illustration of Mr. Tooke's which shewed that his object did not go as far as Mr. Paine's. He was speaking of persons travelling in the same stage-coach, and getting out at different places, he said, ‘When I find myself at Hounslow I get out, others may go farther.’ Mr. Tooke did not write the letter to the Society of the Friends of the People, which was answered



upon the 16th of March, 1792; the witness himself subscribed it as chairman; it was written as a serious, friendly and solemn warning to a new society (see Appendix, No. VIII.), composed in a considerable degree of Members of Parliament, to guard against their departure from those principles which they once professed, friendly to the constitution, and it was the result of general observation that such had been their practice, that they meant nothing but Parliamentary reform. He was also a member of the new Society of the Friends of the People, and continued so. He never heard of any moving towards force of arms or violence. He was himself considered the father and founder of the society. He further said that Mr. Tooke never professed himself a favourer of universal suffrage, conceiving both Locke and the witness to be mistaken; that Mr Tooke by no means approved of all Mr. Paine's doctrines, though he thought some of them might be beneficial to this nation and others; that he approved of Locke only in part, and never praised a pure democracy, but contested the point with those who did.

“ Upon his cross-examination the witness said, that the 25th of March, 1792, was the last time he attended that society, that he was present when the address of the jacobins was voted, but was not a party to the other addresses sent to France. That the subject of a convention was not agitated when he was present. He did not remember any conversation relating to strangling the vipers, aristocracy

and monarchy, but if such an expression was used in speaking of governments where monarchy and aristocracy were vipers to freedom, he should have thought it well applied.

“ In so large a society as the Friends of the People, the letter sent them might be differently understood. He thought that their answer was carried only by one casting vote. There was no explanation by the Society for Constitutional Information ; but there were private explanations by himself and others. He recollected some associated members from Sheffield, but did not recollect their names ; they were not at all afraid of strangers. The witness said he meant to go to the obtaining a reform in the House of Commons. He was not governed by any man, but should be glad of the assistance of any man to procure it. He did not recollect being in the chair when they determined to support Paine ; but if it was so stated in the books it must have been so. He said he did not consider Paine’s writings as a conspiracy to overturn Government, but as discussions on the subject of government ; that if he thought there were any conspirators in the society, he would have assisted in bringing them to justice. He believed that he had recommended Mr. Tooke to the society, and that he knew he had been convicted of a libel. This was the evidence of Major Cartwright.”—Vol. xxv. p. 712.

Happening to be called again to answer a ques-

tion put to him by Mr. Horne Tooke, Major Cartwright requested to add a word or two in explanation of one of his answers to the Attorney-General, when he asked what persons he would take to his assistance in compassing the end he had in view.

“*Mr. Attorney-General.*—The question I asked you was this, whether you would get out with the Friends of the People at Hounslow, or stay in with the Society for Constitutional Information? In other words, whether you would go on to Hounslow with people of different political principles, whatever their principles were?

“*Major Cartwright.*—I think my answer was that I would take assistance of any man whose end I thought right.

“I beg to prevent any misunderstanding of that answer, to say by legal, moral and constitutional means, and not by any others; and I beg to explain it thus: I have signed many petitions for a reform in parliament, in company with men whom I have thought very bad men indeed; but there is no man so bad with whom I would not sign a petition and concur for obtaining that object.

“*Chief Justice Eyre.*—That may be a very sincere declaration, but it is not a very prudent one; because, in connecting yourself with bad men, you can never be sure that you may not be carried beyond your own purpose.

“*Major Cartwright.*—I mean that if I am doing any act as a citizen, such as signing petitions, men with whom I have acted upon those occasions, are men whose faces I have never before seen, and with whom I could not permit myself to associate with regard to their other purposes.”—Howell’s State Trials, p. 370.

This opinion he never changed, and to the end of his life he never refused to join in any *political* act, which he himself approved, with any persons whom he believed to be travelling the same road. He would sometimes jestingly ask whether, if the Duke of Wellington had enquired into the private character of every man in his army, and had refused the assistance of those whose opinions or conduct were not perfectly moral and correct, he would have gained the battle at Waterloo? Nor was Major Cartwright singular in this respect. No leader of a party, whether ministerial or in opposition, enquires into the character of all those by whom he is supported; and it is well known to every one that, at the time of an election, persons of the highest rank and proudest feelings will associate with the lowest and basest of mankind for their own ambitious purposes; a condescension which Major Cartwright was never in a single instance known to practise.

Before quitting the subject of the evidence by Major Cartwright on this occasion, it is necessary to mention an error which has arisen, and which

found its way into a popular journal soon after his death. It was there stated that he replied in court, to Chief Justice Eyre's observation, that, "he came not to state what was *prudent* but what was *true*."

The conviction on the mind of the writer of these memoirs that he actually pronounced these words was so strong, that the circumstance was mentioned by her as a fact, and it was not till some months afterwards that the mistake was discovered in reading the following passage in the introduction to the 'Commonwealth in Danger', pp. 8, 9.

"This law-officer [the Attorney-General], in his reply on the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke, was pleased to observe, with no small emphasis, that 'Major Cartwright was deeply implicated in the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, in the spring of 1792.' It is most true, as the newspapers of that time have abundantly made known to the public, and while the representation of Englishmen in the House of Commons shall continue in its present mangled and melancholy state; and there shall remain but three men in the country so virtuous as to contend for its reform, I will associate with those men, and raise my voice in that honest cause.

"When in my evidence I said that I had signed many petitions for reform in Parliament, with those whom I thought bad, and that there was no man

so bad with whom I would not sign a petition for obtaining that object ; it drew from the Bench an observation, that ‘it might be a very sincere declaration, but was not a very prudent one ; because, by connecting myself with bad men, I could never be sure that I might not be carried far beyond my purpose.’

“ To this observation I made no reply in court ; but I have now to remark, that I did not appear there as a witness upon my oath, to exhibit my prudence by any prevarication, but to speak truth. As the matter originated in my having been asked if I would get into the stage-coach of reform, without regarding the company that might happen to be in the coach, or to that effect, I must also remark that he who has a necessary journey to take, and no means but by a stage-coach, has not the choice of his company. Conceiving a reform in the House of Commons necessary to preserve the liberties of my country, I am not likely to refuse the assistance of any man in such moral means as I choose myself to adopt for that end. A man may travel in a stage-coach without connecting himself with bad men who may chance to be passengers, as he may sign petitions at public meetings without connecting himself with others who attend. I served for many years for the defence of my country in the militia ; associated with what Mr. Young calls ‘the dregs of the people’ (p. 140), since the regiment was in a great degree composed of hired substitutes ; and I have also fought the

enemies of England at sea, associated with even the worst men to be found in the night cellars of London, and with felons from Newgate, of whom I remember one man in particular of the name of Nicholls.”*

* As the history of this man is very remarkable, it is here subjoined, in the words of Major Cartwright in relating the circumstance to his family :—

“ Nicholls, with one or two other men, had murdered a woman in St. George's Fields, under circumstances of extraordinary brutality. In order to avert punishment from themselves, they conspired to accuse a person of the name of Coleman, the overlooker of a brewhouse in the neighbourhood, who was in the constant habit of passing that way every evening to his own house. In consequence of their concurring evidence, Coleman, though a man of remarkably good character, was condemned and executed. On some subsequent occasion, with the particulars of which Major Cartwright was not acquainted, Nicholls turned king's evidence against his accomplices, and officiated as the executioner. As a pardoned felon he was permitted to serve in the navy, and about the year 1760, he belonged to the *Magnanime*. Not being a regular seaman, he was made to do duty in the afterguard, and was stationed on the deck and poop in sight of all the officers. It was observed during the three or four years he remained in the ship that his countenance bore the marks of extreme dejection ; he was never seen to smile, and seldom spoke a voluntary word. He was remarkable for attention to all the duties he had to perform. Upon his discharge at the conclusion of the war, he returned to his old haunts in St. George's Fields, and by a narrative which appeared in the newspapers, Major Cartwright became acquainted with his subsequent fate. Without seeking any employment, he wandered about from one public-house to another, as long as the money he had received for pay lasted, and was at last found dead in a ditch, close to the very spot where the murder of the unfortunate woman was perpetrated. The unmerited death of Coleman excites the more regret, as he left behind him a respectable widow and a large family of children.”

In the course of Mr. Horne Tooke's trial, a letter from that gentleman to Lord Ashburton appeared in evidence, in which there is this passage, relating to Major Cartwright and his opinions :

“ My virtuous and inestimable friend Major Cartwright, is a zealous and able advocate for equal and universal representation ; that is, for an equal share of every man in the government. My Lord, I conceive his argument to be this : every man has an equal right to freedom and security. No man can be free, who has not a vote in the framing of those laws by which he is to be governed ; he is not represented who has not this voice : therefore, every man has an equal right to representation, or to a share in the government. His final conclusion is, that every man has an equal share in the representation. Now, my Lord, I conceive the error to lie chiefly in the conclusion ; for there is a great difference between having an equal right to a share, and a right to an equal share.

“ An estate may be devised by will amongst many persons in different proportions ; to one, five pounds, to another, five hundred, &c. Each person will have a right to his share, but not to an equal share.”

It may, perhaps, be presumptuous to attempt a confutation of the arguments of so acute and logical a writer as Mr. Horne Tooke ; but common sense, without the assistance of learning or deep

discrimination, seems to suggest a few short remarks in defence of Major Cartwright's opinions.

Mr. Tooke certainly intended to allow, that all men had a right (though not in an equal degree) to freedom and security. But, it may be asked, if one man be only to have a *degree* of liberty, is he free? If he have only a *degree* of security, is he secure? Degrees of freedom and security are something like degrees in honesty: one man may rob his neighbour of only five shillings, while another takes a hundred pounds; but are either of them *honest*?

Supposing that freedom and security are divided into ten parts, and one man to have eight parts, while another has two; in that case, does it not appear evident that the freedom and security of the latter will be endangered by the preponderating influence of the former?

Before we conclude our notice of the proceedings of this year, a letter shall be inserted, on a subject in which, happily, more persons are generally interested and involved, than in trials for high treason. And if the grave politician, or graver critic, who deigns to peruse these pages, shall think it unworthy his notice, he is requested either to pass it over, or to recommend it to the attention of any of his young friends, to whom it may be more useful.

“ 16th October, 1794.

“ MY DEAR * * *,

“ Your agreeable letter of the 10th has been followed by one from your father, and another from your aunt, on the same subject.

“ The very high character given in these of the lady's father, both accounts for the generosity of his conduct, and removes every doubt as to the desirableness of the union you wish to form. That the object of your admiration should shew, in her complexion, as much affinity to Asia as to Europe, is a mere matter of taste. European opinion is certainly more favourable to the peach than to the olive; but as long as virtue and intellect do not reside in the skin, if *your* taste can relish that sort of beauty with which the Creator has thought fit to adorn the East, that, my dear * * *, is your own separate concern: connect me but with innocence and amiableness, I will never enquire its colour. I have seen Asiatics, and persons of mixed descent, with very agreeable complexions; but my own experience in that way has not, I own, been sufficiently extensive to overcome my preference to ~~European~~ flesh and blood.

“ The advice you have received, not to make your declaration to the lady until you have reason to persuade yourself that it is wished for, is judicious. A too early declaration produces constraint; it converts the mistress into a critic; and, in this state of things, suspicion, caprice, and even reason, may all enlist themselves against you.

Love, and particularly a first love, in a delicate mind, is jealous of its liberty, and shrinks from the thought of solicitation. Doubt, fear and hope are as necessary to love, as changes of season to the myrtle: all sunshine is destructive to either. You will not want penetration to know when to make your declaration; but be not too hasty. Remember Miss * * * 's extreme youth; and that the youthful mind, under the influence of a virtuous passion, is in the happiest of all tempers for receiving deeply every good and every noble impression. Happy is the lover who avails himself of this opportunity to assist his beloved in laying that solid foundation of right principles on which the happiness of life is built. When the tutor is the object of love, the lessons readily take possession of the heart, and are the best securities for an attachment that will pass unshaken through all the temptations of life.

“The uncommon partiality and friendship shewn you by Mr. * * * will not I hope make you vain, but will only serve to animate you to secure the continuance of his esteem, by cultivating those amiable qualities and manly virtues, which can recommend you to him as the husband of a daughter for whom he seems to possess so lively an esteem.

“My opinion of you, my dear * * * is far too high to suppose that motives of selfishness would influence you in the choice of a wife: desirable as money may be, nothing unworthy of a noble mind

will, I trust, ever bias you in its pursuit, or mislead you in its application. Money is power ; and the use and the pleasure of power must be to do good.

“ No wealth will, I hope, transform you into that vacant, spiritless, useless thing—a mere man of fashion. It is satisfactory to me to find that Miss * * * is of a grave turn of mind, addicted to books, and wholly unacquainted with the frivolous occupations of fashionable life. With an affectionate, sensible, and steady guide, her taste may therefore be formed for the superior enjoyments of society, and the duties and sweets of domestic life. Common amusements and common company may be in their turn resorted to as favourable to health, to cheerfulness, and to usefulness in the world. The frothy syllabub of human life is a good ingredient among the other sweets of the feast ; but it is sorry food to subsist upon.

“ Should the prospects now opening upon you divert your thoughts from the profession you had intended to pursue, let them not tempt you to abandon some particular pursuit and occupation : it may be laid down as a rule, that the more useful to your fellow-creatures that occupation shall be, the more pleasing it will be to the Creator of us all, and the more a source of satisfaction to yourself.

“ When your military duties, and your more interesting engagements shall allow you to give us

your company here, it will afford the whole circle much pleasure.

“ Your affectionate relation and friend,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In 1795, he published his “*Commonwealth in Danger*”, in answer to Arthur Young’s “*Example of France a Warning to Great Britain*.” Though this work had been a considerable time before the public, he had not heard of it till he was called to attend the state trials in the preceding year*. Mr. Young, it seems, had attacked him with the grossest and most virulent abuse. Jacobin, cut-throat, thief, and reformer, were with him synonymous terms; and he even went so far as to recommend Major Cartwright’s works to the official notice of the Attorney General. Among other unfounded assertions, he speaks of Major Cartwright as an indiscriminate admirer of all the acts which followed the French Revolution. This accusation his opponent successfully repels, and at the same time shews by various extracts from Mr. Young’s former works, the inconsistency of his opinions.

* In the introduction to this work, p. lxvii., speaking of the ballot he says, “ It is necessary to the poor man’s protection. In a democracy when an equality of property and power took place to a great degree, it might be less necessary; but every man who contemplates the state of property in this country, and the hereditary powers sanctioned by our constitution, must admit of the necessity of a ballot on a principle of justice.”

In page 34 of the Introduction, Major Cartwright says, "It is true that I have always been a friend to such a revolution as should give France a free constitution instead of her antient despotism, and can lay my hand on my heart and say, I have not seen the moment in which I could wish back that antient despotism to be rivetted on the people as a remedy for evils which, though dreadful, I trusted were only temporary; but it is a base falsehood that I have *equally* approved of all the means employed by the successive actors since the beginning.

"In the first constitution I thought I saw defects, and on the other points I had doubts. At present France has no constitution, but a temporary and revolutionary government."

It is indeed lamentable to observe with what illiberality persons otherwise so estimable and useful to the public as Mr. Arthur Young, are too ready to treat their political opponents; and it is probable that Mr. Young himself regretted the circumstance, when in 1797, he introduced himself at Brothertoft Farm to its owner, and an intercourse took place as cordial as if nothing unpleasant had occurred between them*.

* On the death of an unfortunate gentleman who was slain in a duel, Major Cartwright was reminded that he had a few years before been the object of that person's particular censure and gross abuse in the House of Commons. "I had forgotten the circumstance" was his brief reply.

In that year Mr. Arthur Young gave an account in his survey of Lincolnshire of what he had witnessed at Brothertoft Farm, and we have reason to believe that during his visit at that place, the subject of politics was never mentioned.

Those who were not personally acquainted with Major Cartwright, will perhaps be surprised to hear, that he could accommodate his conversation to almost every person with whom he was in company, and though he probably thought and wrote more on political subjects than any other public character, yet it may be safely asserted, that many have spoken more on the subject in private society in one year, than Major Cartwright did in the whole course of his life.

A gentleman (himself a man of peculiarly polished and elegant manners) who had married one of his near relations, and whose opinions on politics were very different, once spent a week at his house, and on his departure remarked, "he was agreeably surprised to find Major Cartwright (whom he had never before seen) an elegant finished gentleman, possessing a fund of agreeable anecdote and information on a variety of topics, never introducing politics, but discussing them, if they happened to be the subject of conversation, with the utmost temper, mildness, and good-humour."

During the year 1795, notwithstanding much indisposition, he was employed in drawing up petitions for various places, and on various occasions.

Being unable from illness to attend a county meeting at Lincoln, he prepared a petition which he sent to the high sheriff Ayscough Bouchêrett, Esq., which was rejected without being read, as appears by the sheriff's answer, in which he very honestly says, "I sincerely lament that you did not make use of a more *willing* advocate than myself."

" TO CHARLES JAMES FOX, ESQ.

" 21st November, 1795.

" SIR,

" As long as memory remains to me, I can never forget the obligation of an Englishman to you, for the generous and nobly indignant opposition which you have given to the two execrable bills now pending; bills intended for riveting our chains, and silencing for ever the voice of complaint, especially on the grand subject of parliamentary reform.

" Rendered by an accident a cripple to my fire-side, I was prevented from going into the neighbourhood to seek for men who felt as I felt. I wrote a few letters, but I fear without success. It not being my nature to sink under such despotism without a struggle, I determined at length to send to the House of Commons my individual petition, which I have to request you will do me the honour to present.

" I have been particularly solicitous that no expression should furnish a pretext for refusing to

receive it, and shall confide in your judgment to introduce it in the most advantageous manner for securing it the reception of the House, hoping its subsequent publication and circulation may thereby be provided for ; whereas if rejected, it would fall particularly within the purview of those dreadful bills now passing, since it could not fail to excite abhorrence of that which would then I fear be construed as part of the ‘ established ’ government and constitution.

“ Should the opposition to these bills fail, it will almost wholly rest with the friends of freedom in Parliament to nourish the cause of freedom. But the next stroke we may expect is to forbid the publication of the debates ; for despotism cannot stop with only half its work done.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ 26th November, 1795.

“ SIR,

“ I beg your pardon for not answering sooner the two obliging letters you have favoured me with. As I suppose the particular day on which your petition is presented is not a matter of importance, I have hitherto deferred it ; because, to speak the truth, I have been so hurried with business, that I have not till this morning had time to read it.

“ I need not apprise you that my sentiments with regard to universal suffrage are far different from yours ; but this difference of opinion in a

point so important, has never prevented me from doing justice to your character, and sincerely admiring that ardent zeal which has so constantly animated you in the cause of the liberty of mankind.

“As a business, not connected with the bills now pending, comes on to-day in the House of Commons, I shall defer presenting your petition till to-morrow.

“I am, with great esteem, &c.

“CHARLES JAMES FOX.”

When Mr. Fox presented this petition he said, “That he had not hitherto had the political support of the gentleman from whom the petition came; on the contrary, he had manifested the most ardent zeal in opposition to his measures when he had been in office; and had been equally strenuous and sincere in supporting the present administration, so long as he conceived their measures directed to the advancement of public happiness; but the instant Mr. Pitt abandoned the principles which had raised him to popularity and power, Major Cartwright had withdrawn his confidence and support; but laying aside all partial considerations, he was a man whom all parties respected. He was one whose enlightened mind and profound constitutional knowledge, placed him in the highest rank of public character, and whose purity of principle and consistency of conduct through life, commanded the most respectful attention to his opinions.”

In the following year he wrote "The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External," addressed to the freeholders of the county of Lincoln; in which he says, "I have no fox hunter's vote to bestow on any one; neither have I vote for party nor for connexion; no, nor even for sacred friendship. To my friend I will give my purse, my hand, my heart; but I will not give him that which is not mine. My vote I hold in trust; it belongs to my country, and my country alone shall have it."

A general election placed him at this time in the situation of both an elector and of a proposed candidate; and the following letters will farther shew what he considered his duty in these respective capacities.

"TO J. L——, ESQ.

"I owe you, my dear Sir, so much civility and friendship, and should be so truly happy in doing what might be agreeable to Mrs. L——, that if I should not at present be able to say, whether I can or cannot give my vote and assistance to Sir J. T., I trust you will not impute it to any other cause than that in respect of political representation I do not allow myself to gratify any personal feelings which can interfere with a strict adherence to the principles which I conceive to be of moral obligation.

"The result is, that the only candidate I can

assist is he on whom I can rely for a sincere co-operation in every attempt to render the House of Commons a real representation of the people.

• “ I am, dear Sir, &c.

• “ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

• “ TO MR. COPE. •

• “ 26th May, 1796.

“ In case our short conversation of yesterday should have produced any of the effects you wish, and the disengaged party should continue to desire my services, I think it right to communicate to you my sentiments in writing, as the best means of preventing mistakes, and of bringing matters to an issue, for the satisfaction of all parties.

“ To be solicited, as I have been, to accept a seat in Parliament, is a compliment of the most honourable nature. My political opinions and objects have been so repeatedly made known, that my readiness to accept of such an offer, under proper circumstances, cannot be doubted for so long a service as my health might permit; or until I could see the ruinous influence of ministers over the House of Commons at an end.

“ But on the present occasion, ill customs and practices make it necessary that certain points and explanations should be attended to. I must be clearly and perfectly understood by those who propose to elect me. My meaning is, that my agreement to become their representative, is to be con-

sidered in the light of undertaking a painful and unprofitable office ; not as accepting a gift to be bartered away for my own profit and emolument. My sole view is faithfully to serve my country, at a time when she stands in much need of independent and uncorrupt representatives.

“ In the ancient and wholesome times of *uninfluenced elections*, representatives received wages. I ask no wages. I am ready to serve at my own expense. That I think very sufficient ; nor will I do more. Neither now, nor hereafter, will I expend a farthing in consideration of being elected. I will not ring a bell, nor even contribute to a ball. It is for the constituents to do these things if they find cause of rejoicing, in having successfully triumphed over attempts against their rights and liberties. When the parliamentary servants of a community make their rejoicings, and give their entertainments on being appointed, it demonstrates that the very ends of election are perverted and destroyed ; and that some great disease has fallen on the system of representation.

“ I have nothing to gain from being in Parliament but the good of the public ; except personal fatigue, and personal inconvenience. I have no vote to sell. I have no re-election to court. Although I relinquish the wages which would be constitutionally due to me from my constituents, I will not forget, that as an upright representative I ought not to receive either pay or patronage, or

emolument in any other form from those ministers of the Crown over whom it is the first duty of an honest House of Commons to watch with the eye of vigilance, and to hold the strong hand of controul. In short, Sir, I have no motives for either making my election a matter of expense, or my public services a source of private discomfort and vexation. Proud to serve the elective body of the borough in the great council of the nation, I am too proud to fawn on individual electors, or to fall in with the humours of such as may mistake the nature of the political connexion between a constituent body and its parliamentary representative. Those things are done and submitted to as the means of influence, and they too often lead to corruption.

“ I have, now, Sir, to observe, that in the present situation of things at Boston, when two candidates seem to conceive themselves secure of success, and when I profess myself to be utterly ignorant of the state of things, it would expose me not only to ridicule but to odium, to commence a canvass; and the same consequences must follow my appearance as a candidate at the poll on any other ground than that of receiving from *a sufficient number* of electors, an unequivocal and substantial offer of a seat in Parliament. If there be such a body of electors as have power to make that offer, and who disapprove of either of the present candidates, that is a proof that such candidate ought not to be elected. If such a body of elect-

ors wish me to represent their borough, I am ready to receive their commands.

“ But, Sir, uninformed as I am of every thing relating to the weight of parties, the only invitation it would, at this late period, be proper for me to accept, is an invitation in writing, signed by a sufficient number of electors, to prove that it would not be ineffectual; signifying that they have seen this letter, and expressing the votes pledged to me; distinguishing such as are to be single, and such as are to be split between myself and another candidate. At the same time, Sir, you will have the goodness to obtain for me from undoubted authority, accurate information concerning the total number of voters. You must be aware, that where there are three candidates, a man may have in his favour a majority of electors, and against him a majority of votes.

“ As the offer that has been made me, and the object I am ready to embrace is a *seat in Parliament*, not a *contested election*; and as zeal and sanguine hopes sometimes produce hasty declarations, I trust that with the sentiments I avow, you will see the propriety of what I have pointed out, if I am ultimately called upon.

“ I have ever professed myself a strenuous advocate of annual elections. I will now shew the sincerity of these professions. At the expiration of one year from the commencement of the next session of parliament, should I be sent thereunto as a representative for Boston, I will, if required

by my constituents so to do, resign my seat ; or at the expiration of any other year, according to their wishes in that respect.

“ I remain, Sir,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

As this letter was not calculated to advance the interest of a candidate in a borough-town, it is hardly necessary to say, that the party concerned did not renew the application.

Mr. Horne Tooke being at this time about to publish his “ Diversions of Purley”, thus writes :

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ MY DEAR MAJOR,

“ I write the moment after Mr. F. shewed me your note. I have so lately set up the trade of a bookseller, that I do not carry it on in a proper manner. I thank you for becoming a subscriber, but you must also be a retail dealer for me if you can find customers.

“ I have been very ill these last three weeks, but am now something relieved by a smart fit of the gout in my foot. Gurney submitted the trial (as his son informed me) to the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Gibbs. But when applied to by my friends, I was refused a sight of any part of it. When you read it you will see the consequence.

“ If the people consent to a substitute for bread,

the poor of this country will eat bread no more. This war is intended to put, and is likely to put the seal to the deed of transfer of the English constitution. I think the cause of reform is dead and buried*.

“Yours, &c.

“J. H. TOOKE.”

In consequence of the alarming mutiny in the navy, which took place in the year 1797, Major Cartwright wrote to his friend Admiral, afterwards Sir William, Young, who was then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, suggesting what appeared to him the best means for bringing back the discontented sailors to their duty†.

In this correspondence he suggested the propriety of his old commander, Lord Howe, being employed to bring the mutineers to reason, for he felt persuaded, that he who had been justly styled by the King “The Father of the Navy”, would not be heard in vain by British sailors, however exasperated and misled.

It is well known that Lord Howe was afterwards employed with success on this occasion.

* In the margin of this letter is written in Major Cartwright's own hand-writing, “But J. C. is a believer in the resurrection.”

† Sir William Young attended at Warwick in the year 1820, to prove this fact on the trial of his friend; but the business being then put off, he was prevented afterwards by illness from appearing. His affidavit, however, was produced in the King's Bench, in June, 1821.

In this year many efforts were made on the part of Major Cartwright for the promotion of a public meeting at Boston, which were for some time ineffectual. The leading gentlemen on the popular side being consulted, one of them declared his wish to see examples set by other places of greater importance, and another that it would be expedient to observe first what would be the conduct of the Livery of London; though both were fully sensible (to use their own words) “of all the arguments adduced, they could not perceive the expediency of instantly acting up to their conviction.”

To this mode of reasoning, our reformer had been accustomed from the earliest period of his political career, and indeed it was the language which attended him to the last, but he was not the more inclined to relinquish his attempt, and he had soon after the satisfaction of witnessing a respectable meeting at the Cross-Chamber in Boston, where he proposed and carried a petition, which, by a letter from Mr. Tierney, appears to have been presented by that gentleman about the 20th of April to the House of Commons.

A counter-petition was afterwards signed, of which an honourable member thus writes: “The number of those who signed the Boston counter-petition were ninety-seven. The petition was chiefly about corn, but the last paragraph takes notice of Cartwright’s meeting, denies that it speaks the sense of the inhabitants, and prays that

Parliament will not alter the present state of the representation."

In the year 1797 was written and published, "The Appeal", in favour of which some of the reviewers were profuse in their praises. Of this book, Mr. Wyvill says, "I am obliged to you for the present of your Appeal on the English Constitution, which was sent me by Johnson. I shall be eager to read it, being convinced of the soundness of your political principles, and the rectitude of your intentions as a reformer, though it has been my lot to serve the public on grounds far less extensive in the hope, now daily diminishing, to avoid a revolution by effecting a gradual reform."

"FROM CAPEL LOFFT, ESQ.

"In consequence of your kind letter, I have at length obtained from Mr. Johnson your valuable and most impressive Appeal on the English Constitution.

"I am glad to hear of the intercourse which has taken place between you and Mr. Arthur Young, and of your conferences and correspondence on agricultural subjects. He is greatly to be pitied for his late loss of a daughter of every amiable and virtuous promise.

"I believe his spirits were soothed by conversing with you on his favourite topic of agriculture, and it is pleasant to reflect, that two men at the widest distance in political matters, yet amicably

confer and act together on this other great subject of public interest.”

Major Cartwright being this year, 1797, much consulted in the formation of several infant societies, gives to one of their presidents the following advice:—

“ I thank the * * * Union Society for the communication made to me of two papers, one containing the constitution adopted by their body, and the other an Address to the Nation.

“ I hold it to be the truest wisdom in all virtuous men to extend as much as possible a knowledge of the constitution and of the true principles of Government, and nothing is more likely to conduce to that end than the formation of societies for those particular purposes.

“ In forming and conducting such societies, we see that the utmost prudence is required, and indeed, to say the truth, such societies injudiciously formed, or ill-conducted, will probably do the cause of liberty more harm than good. When political societies make public declarations, and venture to go beyond first principles already admitted, in a publication of facts which cannot be controverted, a very considerable share both of caution and of knowledge is necessary for avoiding errors, which may not only mislead themselves and others, but give advantage to the enemies of freedom. Among this last-mentioned class of men,

there is much ability and learning, and it contains persons deeply skilled in political economy, finance, and other branches of the science of Government, who of course never fail to turn against the friends of freedom their own inconclusive arguments.

“ I take the liberty of making these remarks, because I observe some passages in your papers of which I should fear advantage may be taken.

“ I have not time for criticism, nor many observations on the subject (which, indeed, is deep and extensive); but wishing to guard the society against attack, I shall offer to their consideration a few notes, and shall be happy if they are esteemed of any value*.

“ The appointment of a *committee of electors* seems to be a close imitation of the electoral assemblies under the French constitution; which I esteem its greatest blemish. On this subject I beg your attention to the note in page 59 of the Appeal; of a copy of which I herewith beg your acceptance.

“ Should you retain this part of your constitution, you must expect to be assailed by your adversaries with great ridicule. Even in the French, who do not adopt universal suffrage, it is barely excusable, and shews them not to have formed accurate notions of political liberty; but in a society which exacts from its members a test in favour of universal suffrage, to have its administrative com-

* As the constitution of this society is not preserved, some of the remarks upon it would be obscure, and are therefore omitted.

mittee elected by a mere deputation, is against all principle, and would completely condemn the notions of universal suffrage.

“ It is much to be wished, that some one who has leisure would properly criticise this part of the French constitution, before it infect the several republics now rising under its shadow*.

“ The phrase ‘ domineering rich ’ is exceptionable, as it may, by cavillers, be construed into an attempt to excite the poor to invade the property of the rich. It is not by an invasion of such property that the condition of the poor is to be amended, but by such EQUAL LAWS as would have a natural tendency to prevent injustice, and to benefit every class of the community.

“ By means of associations in favour of reform, it is to be hoped a more complete circulation of political knowledge will be effected, and that, in due time, the mass of the people will be instructed in their rights and duties, as citizens, without violating a single law, or giving a rational alarm to any but the children of corruption. When *they* take the alarm, good men ought to rejoice ; as it proves that some progress has been made towards restoring the lost rights of the people.”

* This defect was afterwards repeated in the constitution of Spain, and has been remarked on in different parts of Major Cartwright's works, particularly in his Appeal, Part I. p. 48. See also Vol. II. of these Memoirs, p. 107, and letter to Mr. Northmore, 6th January, 1823.

In the next year (1798) the indefatigable patriot published another edition of his *Appeal*, with additions. The circumstance which chiefly occasioned these additions, and which he considered was a feature of the times, worthy of animadversion, was the prevention of a public meeting proposed to take place at the Cross-Chamber at Boston. The mayor's promise of the use of the chamber had been obtained; but at the sessions which took place soon after, an alarm was excited by a gentleman connected with the borough, who insinuated that Major Cartwright's intentions were dangerous to the state, and that the persons who had signed the hand-bill, announcing the meeting, had, but a few years back, earned their livelihood by the spade and the plough.

In consequence of this representation, eleven of the grand jury signed an address, to request the mayor to recal his promise, and to forbid the use of the room. The twelfth man, though a publican, and threatened with the loss of his licence, refused to sign, declaring that he could never be brought to believe that the Major was a dangerous person, or that any thing alarming to the state was in contemplation. With regard to the resolutions proposed to be offered to the meeting, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Fox seem to have entertained the same opinion with the honest publican, as appears by the following letters :

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ Chevening House, near Seven Oaks,

“ January 19th, 1798.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I return you a great many thanks for the very excellent resolutions which you have had the goodness to send me, and which you intended to be moved at Boston on the 27th instant, in favour of parliamentary reform.

“ You know I have long been of opinion that a substantial reform and annual elections are indispensable to preserve the liberty and prevent the ruin of the nation. Every day confirms me in that opinion.

“ It is one which it is impossible not to be rooted in the mind of every man of sense who means well; and especially after what we have seen of late!!!

“ Ever your most faithful

“ STANHOPE.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ 12th January, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I return you many thanks for your three letters, and the obliging expressions in them towards me personally.

“ I assure you, when we most differed I never failed to do justice to the goodness of your intentions.

" I think your resolutions very proper, and that there is nothing in them that can justly be considered disrespectful.

" I am, dear Sir, &c.

"CHARLES JAMES FOX."

" TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" 29th July, 1798.

" DEAR SIR,

" I deferred answering your letter of the 19th instant, till I received the pamphlets, which I did not till yesterday evening. I shall certainly read Sir William Jones's, and that of Mr. Sharp, which relates to the militia.

" I suspect that you and I, on the subject of national armament, agree very exactly, not only upon principles, but upon the application of those principles; but I suspect, too, that our opinion is very far either from being, or from being likely to become a prevalent one for some time.

" If you should think that publishing upon the subject is likely in any degree to conciliate people's minds to it, it is certainly very laudable in you to do so; and the more so, as I think it evident that nothing can now be published in favour of liberty, without considerable risk. The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press; and indeed after it, one can hardly conceive how any prudent

tradesman can venture to publish any thing that can in any way be disagreeable to the ministers.

“ I am, with great truth,

“ Dear Sir, yours ever,

“ St. Anne's Hill, Saturday.”

“ C. J. FOX.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ Wichen Park, near Stoney Stratford,
30th July, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ In a packet of letters, papers, &c. from the Temple, two days ago, I received your obliging letter of the 21st instant. I should be sorry that you should extend your work to any great length. It is quite sufficient to shew, that the people anciently exercised their *right of electing magistrates, judges, &c.* without descending to the tedious process of tracing the steps by which they successively lost these most valuable rights; for the latter will not only require much time, and many words, but will be more particularly liable (in these jealous times of military violence) to excite the animosity of time-servers against you. And even with respect to some parts of my own letter (to Mr. M.) on this subject, I conceive that their publication would not be effectual to any good purpose against the interested party-prejudices of the present corrupt times; but whatever use you think proper to make of that work, the name of its author ought, at least, to be concealed from

the public, in order to abate, in some degree, the bitterness of *tory-prejudices* against his doctrine.

“ You ask me, if I can ‘*shew that any other encroachment on the people’s rights has operated to the loss of election in this case?*’ If you mean the case of the loss of electing the high *constables*, I must answer, that in the said loss was involved the loss of electing the *military commanders* of each hundred families—the loss of electing the proper *militia officers* of every district and neighbourhood; for in these the *civil* and *military* authorities were always united in the same person, while we enjoyed a *constitutional militia*, with *officers elected by the people*; but the *modern militia* is rendered completely a mere branch of the *standing army*, through the want of *residence at home* (as well as the want of *election*), and also through want of *rotation* in the service, whereby the individuals are deprived of their trades and callings, or ordinary means of subsistence, and of course lose entirely their *civil capacity*, and rely only on their military pay as mere *soldiers*, or mercenaries. So that by the unfortunate disuse of *frank-pledge*, the people have really lost all their own proper power, the ‘*power of the county*,’ or ‘*posse comitatus*’; and that *this power* ought never to have been entrusted in other hands than those of the people themselves, it will be sufficient (without mentioning more obvious reasons) to urge the impossibility that any nation can be able to support the expense of paying a sufficient mercenary power to protect it; for all the most

wealthy and powerful nations of the world have actually been taxed into bankruptcy, and ruined by this abominable measure of maintaining *standing armies*, besides the greater evil of being *enslaved* into the bargain; though all this ruinous expense to the people has been furnished from their own pockets against themselves! But no encroachment on *elections* has been more fatal than that on the *popular election of bishops*. I have added a distinct tract on this head at the end of my book on *Congregational Courts*. In the beginning of the same book proofs are given, from Holy Scripture, that the judges *and officers*, of every degree were *elected by the people* under the *theocracy*; and the highest evidence of *popular rights* is surely the open acknowledgment and declaration of them by the *prime minister* of a great nation, who was unquestionably appointed to that dignity, even by the Almighty himself!

“ Respecting *juries*, you will find eight whole chapters in Chancellor Sir John Fortescue’s excellent book, ‘*De Laudibus Legum Anglice*’, ‘*On the Commendations of the Laws of England*’, (from the 25th to the 32d chapter inclusive,) which, though wrote in Latin, has an English version annexed in an opposite column. But I don’t find that any mention is therein made of the *election* of *jurors* by the *hundreders*, or by the householders, as such; but only of the *naming* or *proposing* of them by the *sheriffs*, with particular directions for their guidance in this duty. That they shall

summon ‘good and lawful men, against whom neither of the parties have any manner of exception, or challenge; and of whom at least four out of twelve shall be of the hundred where the village standeth, wherein the fact whereupon the suit riseth, is supposed to be done.’ That every such juror shall have lands or revenues for term of life, at least to the value of forty shillings, &c. But on an exception being found to convict the sheriff of partiality, the pannel is to be made by the coroners, or (on their likewise being found faulty) by two clerks of the court chosen by the justices, and sworn to make an indifferent pannel, (that is an impartial pannel, indifferent to both parties,) and in all these cases due legal exceptions by the parties in the cause at issue are to be allowed. A jury, therefore, is not formed, either by the election of the householders as such, or of the sheriff, or of the coroner, &c., but rather by the just and legal exceptions of the parties at variance, excluding, as far as human prudence can suggest, all partial, influenced, and improper judges of their cause. And in cases of criminal charge, as for treason, &c., it is certainly reasonable for the furtherance of justice, that the Attorney-General or counsel for the King should also be allowed to challenge any juryman *as far only as he can produce any just and LEGAL exceptions*, but no farther. So that your quotation from Judge Blackstone, (Book IV. 350, shewing that *peremptory challenges, though granted ‘to the prisoner, are denied to the King’, &c.*) is

surely an ample confutation of the *present Attorney-General's* claim to a *peremptory challenge* for the King in such cases. But with respect to the *modern practice of striking juries*, as directed by an act of 3d Geo. II. mentioned by Judge Blackstone in Vol. III.; p. 358, it seems to be only a prudent regulation in the *mere form* of appointing juries, but not at all contrary to the genuine spirit and intention of the institution. When you returned my tract on Congregational Courts, you sent with it an excellent book by Mr. Trenchard, &c., which does not belong to me, but I will take the first opportunity of returning it after I have perused it. I propose to return to London in about a week or ten days. With respectful compliments to Mrs. Cartwright and yourself, I remain, dear Sir,

“ Your affectionate friend and humble Servant,

“ GRANVILLE SHARP.”

The difficulty which Major Cartwright experienced in finding a publisher for the second edition of the Appeal to the Nation, obliged him to become his own bookseller; and the work was accordingly advertised in the following manner:—
“ This day is published, and sold by the author, An Appeal, Civil and Military, on the subject of the English Constitution, by John Cartwright, Esq. who now appeals to an English People on the Condition of the English Press. What that condition is, he needs not describe on the present occasion;

it is enough to say, the state of the press left him no choice that was congenial with his feelings. Secret circulation he disdained; and a painful sense of duty to himself and to the public, has made him his own bookseller. Could he have suffered certain openly avowed doctrines, and certain deliberate and systematic acts, which not only strike at all English freedom, but which also lead (and by no indirect course) to the ruin of the aristocracy and the subversion of the throne, to have passed without observation, he could not have had the consciousness of acting as an Englishman ought to act; or could he have submitted to suppress a work intended to vindicate the constitution of his country against the worst faction that ever caused her either danger or dishonour, he must have felt himself that abject thing to which it seems intended that every Englishman shall be reduced.

“ Applications and orders to be addressed to the author’s servant, Mr. Richard Hayward, No. 1, Russell Court, Drury Lane.”

The French Revolution was styled by Madame Roland, “that touchstone of mankind,” and it may be said, that politics are sometimes the touchstone of friendship. A man of a dissipated character, a gambler, a defaulter to Government, may be tolerated in polished society, but friendship is not always proof against the charge of associating with those who vindicate and assert the rights of the people. The publication of “The Appeal” caused the loss (if loss it could be called) of

two of Major Cartwright's intimate acquaintance, who, with every expression of personal respect and friendship, begged to inform him that such an unqualified declaration of his political opinions, obliged them in future to decline his society. It is, however, somewhat singular, that about this time, as it were to make up for their secessions, he made two valuable additions to the number of those friends who were destined never to forsake him. •

It is gratifying to record that in many instances his confidence in the stability of human friendship was not misplaced; and among the most conspicuous of these, it is impossible not to mention his worthy and excellent friend Mr. Northmore.

At the election at Westminster, and twice at Warwick, did this gentleman, though at a distance of above two hundred miles, come forward to assist the venerable reformer by his presence, and when, to use his own forcible expression, "It pleased God to call this friend of humanity to himself," nothing but the most unavoidable circumstances prevented his joining the faithful band who paid the last tribute of respect to his mortal remains.

From the confidential correspondence which took place between these fellow labourers in the field of reform, extracts will be given in the future part of this work, whenever they tend to throw a light on those political events of the day in which Major Cartwright was concerned.

In a letter which accompanied the packet con-

taining this correspondence, Mr. Northmore thus addresses the writer of this narrative :

“ Cleve, 29th of January, 1825.

“ The letters I send you comprise a period of sixteen years, and afford no trifling proof of my late excellent friend’s ardent and persevering exertions, through good report and evil report, in the great cause of human freedom and his country’s happiness.

“ My late friend and tutor, Gilbert Wakefield, used to say, that ‘ *no effort is lost.*’ The Major’s are daily producing their effects.

“ Among the various misrepresentations of our worthy friend’s attainments is that of Hazlitt ; see his ninth essay ‘ On People with One Idea’*, particularly where he speaks of ‘ that love of distinction which is mostly at the bottom of this peculiarity,’ p. 142, 3 ; for the Major’s ruling passion was the love of his country and of man†, and Hazlitt himself, upon another occasion (p. 111)

* In this work Mr. Hazlitt must have been misled in his judgment, by the erroneous report of others, for it does not appear that he had any personal acquaintance with Major Cartwright. That gentleman being asked if he knew Mr. Hazlitt, replied, “ I am not aware that I have ever been in his company, but I have a faint recollection that I had once an opportunity, when applied to by a friend, of doing a gentleman of that name a trifling service.”

† It was remarked by a foreigner, to whom Mr. Hazlitt’s opinion was mentioned, that “ He was perfectly correct, Major Cartwright having certainly one idea which engrossed him, but in which were comprehended all the best interests of mankind.”

admits that one proud distinction is enough for any individual to possess or to aspire to.' But the fact is this, that Major Cartwright was not so confined in his acquirements as Hazlitt supposes. He had taste and judgment in laying out grounds, and he planned some for this place. Secondly, he was versed in the theory of ship and boat-building (a science of no little value), and I had occasion to consult him upon that subject. Thirdly, architecture was not unknown to him; witness his beautiful design for a national hall. Fourthly, as a military man, his plan of defence is before the public.

“The last effort of your uncle’s pen, ‘The Constitution Produced and Illustrated’, will alone hand his name to posterity with their applause and gratitude. It is, in my estimation, his ‘last best work’, and proves, to mathematical demonstration, the soundness of his intellect, and the accuracy of his judgment; and it is a complete refutation of all the malicious jargon of his opponents at the Westminster election, and forcibly proves my own observations on the hustings at Covent-Garden. My best regards to his amiable relict, so worthy of him.”

Major Cartwright was much occupied during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802, by the affairs of his brother, Dr. Cartwright, whose various inventions, though calculated to increase the prosperity of the country, brought nothing but disap-

pointment and embarrassment upon their ingenious author.

Numerous piracies of his patents having taken place, his brother was indefatigable in their detection, and in bringing the offenders to justice. Even a brief account of the various trials in which he was engaged, and of his personal exertions in preparing the business for the courts, would occupy a very considerable space in this work ; a few passages, therefore, will suffice to give some idea of the fatigues he had to encounter : and it may be further remarked, that though he was in the end successful, the amount of the damages given in courts of justice, and awards by arbitration, was very inadequate to the expense and trouble which this necessary litigation brought upon him.

“ 25th June, 1799.

“ MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

“ The extreme press of law and hard work, both of body and mind, make me want rest before the battle arrives. It will, however, soon be over. We have, on our side, justice, law and common sense.

“ I cannot think of farming or any thing else, at present, but our cause. I rise at five, and breakfast at eleven, which I sometimes forget.”

“ 3d July, 1799.

“ Lord Stanhope has been an excellent legal adviser. The hard work my nerves had undergone for many days, brought on a great degree of

fever. By quiet and good advice they will get composed again."

" February, 1800.

" I am working so hard for the lawyers, I can spare you but a minute. The mysteries of law, as well as of mechanical science, are deep; and the approaching trial requires all my time, as I trust nothing to attorneys or clerks, &c. The law of England is *good*, but the *application* of that law is a *scourge*.

" On Saturday I had another tag, which cheated me out of my dinner."

" April, 1800.

" A verdict for the plaintiffs, damages £1000. The tide of misfortune once turned, the stream will soon flow beneficially."

In these trials his friend Lord Stanhope, who, it is well-known, added to his other acquirements a profound knowledge of the principles and practical application of mechanics, was a very useful witness*; and Major Cartwright always acknowledged, in terms most honourable to Lord Eldon, the patience which his Lordship exhibited on this occasion, and the pains which he took to make himself complete master of the merits of the case.

* Earl Stanhope, at a very early age, when pursuing his studies at Geneva, obtained a prize from a society at Stockholm, for a memoir on the construction of the pendulum.

While compiling the foregoing pages, the writer has been informed of a circumstance, which, as it occurred in the year of scarcity, ought to be mentioned in this place. That it never was spoken of in his family circle by Major Cartwright himself, will not be matter of surprise to those who were acquainted with him; but the quarter from whence it has been received insures its authenticity. Being at Nottingham in the month of December, 1800, on important business relative to his brother's inventions, he received intelligence from Sheffield which induced him to travel post to that place. The lower orders in that neighbourhood were so exasperated by want, that it was believed that a party of them intended, on the next market-day, to enter the town of Sheffield, and to seize all the provisions they could lay their hands upon.

On Major Cartwright's arrival, he found a party of these misguided persons assembled in a barn. He entered it alone, spent the whole night among them, reasoned them into calmness, and in the morning they returned peaceably to their famishing families.

In the following letter from Mr. Horne Tooke, dated 12th December, 1800, we find an allusion, in that gentleman's peculiar style, to the distresses of the country during this disastrous year.

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I went to town last Friday, on purpose that I

might, after so long a delay, deliver the little parcel for you, with my own hands, to the Boston coachman. I was half an hour too late; my usual *misfortune*, which truth would call *fault*. However, I left it with a trusty tradesman in Fleet Street, who promised that it should be carefully sent by last Monday's coach. That I might tell you this by last Saturday's post, I got a frank ready: the old *misfortune* recurred; again too late. •

“ With this frank I will not be too late.

“ The parcel contains two honeysuckle roots, laid down purposely for you, of the standard evergreen honeysuckle; some white and red strawberries, and many sorts of large gooseberries, which I had from Manchester, where they are very curious in that fruit.

“ I have two sorts of strawberry, which those who gave them to me represent as very extraordinary. If they prove so, you shall next year have some. I am promised by different persons (some of whom, like myself, will probably be always too late), many very curious plants and flowers. When next I see you, you shall tell me whether any of them will suit you. •

“ Whilst we are cultivating our gardens, the *Victualling-Office*, of whose exports the Custom-House takes no note, is sending grain and cattle out of the country, much beyond all actual, or, probably, possible importation. Thirty thousand oxen in the course of a few weeks past. But Mr. Pitt holds him a jacobin, who ought to be impaled,

who suggests that the war may possibly be some cause of the scarcity. I think I may, perhaps, be able to send you some authenticated facts concerning that terrible office, which is starving the miserable inhabitants of this land. You will be better pleased with these roots of bitterness than with the paltry roots I have sent you. I believe the lawyers would say that this letter contains a libel; perhaps they would call it treason; but I should have no objection to be tried and convicted, provided they would permit me, on such trial, to bring to light, by evidence, the operations of this despotic war.

“Till the proper time arrives, when truth may be useful, let us go on cultivating our gardens.

“J. HORNE TOOKE.

“Wimbledon, December 12, 1800.”

The course of the narrative will be here interrupted, by the insertion of some of Major Cartwright's letters to his nephew (the only son of Dr. Cartwright), which, with a natural feeling of respect towards the venerable writer, have been preserved by him, as memorials of his uncle's parental anxiety.

Being chiefly on subjects connected with the welfare of a young man on his first entrance into life, it is thought expedient not to break the series by inserting them in the different years to which they more properly belong.

“ Marnham, 26th December, 1791.

“ MY DEAR EDMUND,

It is with very great pleasure that I send you an engraving of the Declaration of Rights. If hung up in your rooms at Oxford, it will probably lead you into arguments on the subject with many who are prejudiced against such doctrines as it maintains. I think it may be safely trusted to your good sense and love of truth, to listen with attention to every argument that can be offered against your own opinion; and to be ready to embrace new sentiments whenever sound reasoning shall require you so to do. And you have a right to call upon all opponents to observe the same rule. It is truth alone by which we ought to be guided, and to which we ought to submit. Neither custom nor authority are to be regarded, when they tend to error and mischief. When men argue for the sake of victory, or in support of mere party dogmas, they are not likely either to convince others or to improve themselves. But when it becomes evident that a man, in his reasonings on any subject, is actuated by a sincere love of truth, and that his ultimate aim is to establish what is most beneficial to his species, his opinions will be respected; which is a very important step towards their being embraced.

On the particular subject of civil liberty, we, in England, have, in my opinion, two lights in which to contemplate it. First, in the abstract; which leads us to consider what sort of government would

be most agreeable to the will of the Deity, and most beneficial to man. Secondly ; how to preserve whatever is valuable in our own constitution, and, as occasion may offer, how to improve it by approximation towards the perfect model we may have conceived as above. Even in the bringing about any reforms, we ought not to use dishonest means, nor rashly to hazard more ill than there is a probability of good. The most rational, efficacious and virtuous means are to enlighten the minds of the people on the science of government. That once done, reform will readily follow. This is a time peculiarly favourable to this plan. Much has already been done, but much more remains to be done. Our English reformers, in general, have been too much biassed by one party or another ; but I believe the sincere part of them are beginning to discover, that every party, commonly so called, is no better than a faction, actuated by self-interest and ambition ; and that no reform worth attention can take place until the general voice of the community shall demand it, and such a reform as cannot be made subservient to the indirect views of any faction.

“ Whatever may be your profession in life, it doubtless is the noblest part of education to learn how you stand related to your Creator, to your fellow-creatures, and what are your duties to each. Unhappily for mankind, religion and government, including their most important interests, have but too much been made the engines of oppression and

misery ; so that on those two subjects it is particularly incumbent on all who can think for themselves, to be provided with the armour of knowledge, and the weapons of argument.

“ But I must conclude this very hasty epistle, with my most earnest wishes for your success in the pursuit of truth, and for that happiness which is the result of a man’s having made a right use of the talents entrusted to him. .

“ Your affectionate uncle,
; “ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO LIEUT. EDMUND CARTWRIGHT, OF THE WEST-YORK
“ MILITIA, TYNEMOUTH.

“ 16th August, 1794.

“ DEAR EDMUND,

“ I wish I could be a better correspondent to you ; but in truth I have not of late found much time for pleasurable employments ; and the want of health frequently obliges me to devote to rest those hours which I would gladly employ in corresponding with you, or in reading.

“ Perhaps your father has mentioned to you an idea I threw out to him the other day. As it respects yourself, the sooner you know it the better. As the course of your studies has been broken, and as the present aspect of affairs does not promise a speedy renewal of them with effect, it becomes a question demanding consideration, whether or not it be advisable for you to think of any other future plan of life than that you have hi-

therto seemed much inclined to. Physic will require a very assiduous application of some years, and at an expense which none of us at present have the means of providing for. And when a degree is obtained, and the student is ready to enter upon the practical duties of his profession, there are difficulties still to encounter, and possibly an exercise of much patience must be exerted ere he can obtain a decent income by his labours. These are matters for your consideration.

“ Now what I have to offer to your thoughts at present is this. If it should suit with your inclinations to become an agriculturist, it is in my power to introduce you to that situation with much advantage. Until you might have made sufficient trial of the practice, and become thoroughly acquainted with the profits attending it, I would not have you think of embarking in it a shilling of your fortune. If upon experience you acquired a real relish for the profession, and found the advantages worthy of your attention, you might then embark at first on a limited scale, and afterwards more largely as circumstances might make it most advisable. If no one of my own family should be in a situation to succeed me, the advantages of this establishment must at my decease pass into other hands; but in case of your turning your thoughts that way, I think I might have it in my power to form arrangements which with your co-operation, might secure to you the occupying of the estate.

“ You will turn these matters in your mind, and let me know your sentiments. If the bias of your inclination determine you to other pursuits, I shall be happy when able to promote your views, but in respect to pecuniary advantages, I incline to think your adopting the plan now suggested may, with ordinary attention on your part, secure to you an ample income, and in a profession affording you leisure for studies and amusements adapted to your taste.

“ The plan would be very agreeable to me, in as much as it would give me much of your society, it would in time ease me of trouble, and it would afford me great satisfaction in thinking that my labours were likely to be highly beneficial to one who possesses my esteem and affection.

“ Yours, my dear Edmund, very sincerely,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO CAPTAIN CARTWRIGHT, WEST-YORK MILITIA,
“ NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

“ Brothertoft Farm, 28th June, 1795.

“ MY DEAR EDMUND,

“ I congratulate you on your promotion, and shall be very glad to do so on another event which we are informed, and believe may in due time take place.

“ This leads me to say a few words on your future plan of life. I have understood that you have sometimes shewn an inclination to the church. If you

really have any serious thoughts of that profession, I wish you to examine well into the nature of the engagement. In order to this, it is necessary to scrutinize the thirty-nine articles, and to weigh well the creed you are to teach. If, on due consideration, you can truly and honestly subscribe to those articles, and to all the forms of prayer which arise out of them, you may most conscientiously undertake the ministry of the Church of England. But, if you cannot digest all this, it should seem there are difficulties in your way of more importance than you may have been aware of. To the unprincipled, or the dissolute, who can make religion a trade, neither articles, nor creeds, nor subscriptions, will be any impediments : but I persuade myself that you will not make light of these things.

“ Thinking these matters deserve your serious consideration, I have given you my thoughts, and wish to know your own sentiments. If you incline to become a Christian minister, I am far from objecting to it. I know not any profession which I more respect. All that I would guard you against is, professing a faith before you have adopted it ; or subscribing to strings of propositions before you are satisfied of their truth. If you determine to enter into the priesthood, let it be of that church, or that sect, with whom you really agree in sentiment.

“ Have you examined my manuscript on tactics ?

And do you find it calculated to give simplicity and certainty to military manœuvres? Your expectations of peace I suspect to be ill-founded; and the sooner France can be at peace with all the powers of the continent, the longer I fear it will be before she will listen to a peace with this country.

“Wheat at Newark last Wednesday, 4*l*. 14*s*. per quarter. It seems but a suitable retribution on the people of England for their infamous policy of starving France into submission to despotism.

“Your affectionate uncle,
“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“29th of December, 1795.

“Amongst other thoughts and wishes for your advantage, I understand Mr. W. has had the goodness to think of getting you into a banking-house.

“It seems so plain, so easy, and so direct a road to the accumulation of an independent fortune in a reasonable time, that such a thing appears extremely eligible, especially to one who has no taste for the usual country amusements, and relishes a town life. The risk I apprehend to be confined to this one circumstance, the honour and prudence of the principal acting partners; and even here, if the other parties reside in town and keep an eye on the books and transactions of those who manage, all danger I apprehend may be guarded against.

“The book-keeping, although it require great correctness, and must be balanced every night, yet

is the simplest and most easily conducted of any in the whole article of trade.

“ On the subject of the Bills of Lord G. and Mr. P. I scarcely know how to conceive the possibility of the people remaining quiescent any long time, in the present state of political knowledge. I should expect they would produce petitions for a reform of Parliament, to which immense numbers would give their signatures. The association of the Whig Club appears to me an injudicious measure. I recommended the club's offering themselves as members to the Society of Friends of the People, and then promoting a reform. Such an union would have made an impression, and directed men's attention to the only right, and indeed, the only possible remedy. A national association to get a repeal of two bad laws, were a misapplied effort. It would tend to inculcate this belief, that if those laws were repealed, the Bill of Rights and our liberties were completely recovered; whereas we should still be at the mercy of those who made those bad laws, and something else as bad, in other shapes, would be invented. The opposition ought to declare that without a reform the liberty of the country cannot be preserved; and they ought also to declare, that, as no honest man can serve the state under the present system, they never would accept the reins of Government but as reformers; and that unless supported by the people in that primary measure, they must immediately retire again into private stations. Such declarations I incline to

think would, put the reins into their hands in a short time, and enable them to effect the reform.

“ If they have not virtue for such a conduct, their country will never derive any advantage from their exertions.

“ Yours, affectionately,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ B. F. 6th January, 1796.

“ DEAR EDMUND,

“ * * * *. The Yorkshiresmen disgraced themselves miserably on the late occasion.

“ We did better at Boston, where a meeting of the hundreds of Kirton and Skirbeck assembled. After great previous management, and with all the dependants in and about the port, the courtiers did not (as I am informed) get above a dozen signatures more than their opponents.

“ This event, and the publication of my letters to the sheriff, have brought forward several friends to freedom ; and the letter has made several converts. Of course I get heartily cursed for disturbing the quiet of the country.

“ I hope you will find your little wife in perfect health when you return to her. All here desire to be remembered. In haste,

“ Your affectionate

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ 13th February, 1796.

“ When you come into the country I shall wish to converse with you on my future plans and

wishes, as well as your own. My only discouragement in my present career is, not having any one, who is immediately interested in the success and future prosecution of my plans, to co-operate with me at present, and to prepare himself for the management of all these concerns. I would by no means have you engage in any undertaking against a strong bent of mind, or without that inclination and alacrity which would insure activity and diligence.

“ If you feel great inclination for science, science properly so called, by which you may be instrumental in extending human knowledge and happiness, you may be more usefully and satisfactorily employed than in agriculture, though it is the fundamental science, and presents a wide field of exertion to the speculative mind. As to antiquarian researches, they may amuse, but they do little towards invigorating the mind. I rather think they have sometimes a contrary effect. Genuine science delights to look *forward* into the unexplored regions of thought. But what is the effect of an exclusive attention to antiquarian enquiries? to give a retrograde direction to the mind, leading it back into the ages of ignorance and barbarism, to waste its powers upon objects scarcely worth picking up and preserving, when raked out of their dust and rubbish.

“ I do not mean absolutely to condemn such enquiries; they are well fitted for the moles of mankind, who have not eyes for stronger light

than is adapted for researches of this kind. And, indeed, I feel myself obliged to them for the trouble they take; but neither a spark of envy or emulation ever arises in my breast, from a contemplation of their achievements.

“ I would not have you make any decision without consulting Mr. W. Your amiable wife will probably feel most satisfaction in the adoption of that plan of life which bids upon the whole most fair for placing you in ease and affluence, and being an agreeable employment of your time.

“ Your affectionate

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ Well Vale, 9th March, 1796.

“ MY DEAR EDMUND,

“ I shall not enter upon a subject which must chiefly occupy your thoughts at present, leaving it to time, and employment, and just reflections, to restore tranquillity to your mind.

“ My last was written when I had flattered myself that no change would take place in your dearest connexion. Your personal situation is now materially altered: you are of an age, and of a character, to reason well on your future plan of life. On whatever you determine, I wish it to be the result of due reflection and free choice. And I think it would be satisfactory to you, if, in that choice, you met with a concurrence of sentiment on the part of your father and of Mr. W., whose

paternal kindness to you I am sure you will never forget.

“ On such subjects I should like to converse with you ; not by way of formal discussion, but with a view of coming to some immediate conclusion. A scheme of life should not, in my mind, be so decided on, where the principal is competent to judge for himself. Many conversations, a variety of views of the different plans which present themselves, and repeated reflections on the subject, may be necessary to a satisfactory decision. Should you feel inclined to talk with me on these matters, my principal desire will be to assist you in forming just opinions on every question that may arise ; but as my particular wishes may possibly influence me in the opinions I may offer, you should be upon your guard against any such bias, and put those opinions to the strictest test of criticism.

“ In regard to pecuniary prudence, I incline to think the plan I recommend to your attention affords the best prospect ; but that alone I by no means think a sufficient motive to your giving it the preference. I am not desirous to see you a wealthy boor. Mr. Burke, whose learning and various knowledge might furnish out an hundred *gentlemen* at least, I am told, is a good farmer*. Amongst our present race of nobles and of landed men, setting aside those who are wholly occupied

* See the original letters lately published in the New Monthly Magazine, November, 1825.

with state affairs, or in the more arduous labours of science, perhaps the most learned, the best informed, and most polished, will be found amongst those whose chief occupation is agriculture.

“ I return home to-morrow or next day; I need not say how happy I shall be in your company at my farm. Your aunt joins in every good wish.— God bless you !

“ Yours sincerely, .

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ 11th April, 1796.

“ At Colchester you will be in the neighbourhood of two families numbered among my friends. When I was about your age, and commanded a cutter at Harwich, one of these families resided there; that of Mr. Purvis, younger son of Admiral P.—From no persons did I ever experience more hospitality and kindness; and I have ever kept up a friendship with them, and such an intimacy as distance would admit of.

“ I was mortified at your being snatched away so suddenly from this neighbourhood, nor did it reconcile me to the disappointment, when you mentioned your destination being at *barracks*. It is a word that grates my feelings. I know the specious arguments in favour of them, but I know also they are a part of the machinery of despotism. If you wish to have correct ideas of a military establishment for a free nation, read with attention “ *Advice to the privileged Orders.*” As

that system is now perverted and corrupted in this country, we may with strict justice be said to be subject to a military government under a mask.

“According to the plan at this moment forming; considerable bodies of troops kept in barracks, separated from the people, nurtured in principles to make this separation as complete as possible, are to be stationed all over the country.

“I will not despair of the commonwealth, because the means of recovery are visible. But the constitution and the liberty of the country are gone, while few know or care anything about it; the abuses of power will, however, make it known. It is not uncommon to hear a man say, ‘I have nothing to do with politics.’ According to my conception, it would be as laudable to say, ‘I have nothing to do with morality.’ You are entering into active life at an awful period. The best advice I can give you is, never to do that as a man or a citizen, on which you cannot reflect with satisfaction.

“I have lately had a slight attack of fever, which nevertheless has required several days of medicine and attention. When in my best health, I am so unequal to the exercise which the superintendence of my farm should require, that I was perpetually sensible of wanting an assistant, who had an interest similar to my own in looking after it. My late indispositions have made me feel that want still more; and indeed every incident which by its nature leads to reflections on the instability

of life, has caused some regret that I had not a successor in readiness, to build on the foundations I have laid, and to benefit from my labours at this place. I think you judge rightly in not quitting the militia till the end of the war. As the least exceptionable of our military establishments, it deserves the preference; and it is of importance to the public, that it should not fall into the hands of servile-minded men. Besides which, a time of war is not a season for retirement from the service; nor should I think it handsome towards the Duke of Norfolk, for you to leave it till peace."

" June, 1736.

" An article from Plymouth, concerning the prevention of a great mutinous movement in the Marine Barrack, has a very incredible particular. It states that a marine had been a delegate. I should as soon have expected a negro to have been chosen a delegate by a body of West-India planters, as a marine to have represented a body of seamen.

" Can you inform me if there were any fortifications or batteries on the Isle of Wight, which have been erected there within these last twenty years; particularly for commanding the entrance of ships at the east and west extremities of the island? I wish you to inquire, and to let me know. In the American War, I pointed out to Government some defects in those particulars, and the fatal consequences to which they might expose us. The Duke of R. very much applauded my re-

marks, and has since been at the head of the ordinance department for several years; I wish therefore to know the present state of that island.

“ I am, &c. &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ 27th November, 1797.

“ I have been publishing lately a sixpenny pamphlet, *‘An Appeal on the Subject of the English Constitution.’* Your father says it is unanswerable; and others have been pleased to speak of it very favourably: but I much fear it is preaching to the winds. Our nobility, a solitary individual here and there excepted, are without nobleness of character; and the independent English gentleman is a being almost unknown; circumstances which, in this age, appear to lead to a catastrophe, that may involve the great, the proud, and the wealthy, in one common ruin, and fill the land with horrors.

“ The leaders of opposition, instead of seceding, should occupy themselves on all the great points of the constitution. Their speeches might be a continued series of lectures to the public; and, if they could once bring themselves to look to the constitution only, and utterly disclaim office and power, unless accompanied with the recovery of national liberty, I am convinced they would be well attended to. Hitherto they have been too much actuated by a party-spirit, to have grand and enlarged views. They have not seemed to comprehend either the danger of their country, or by what means it is to be saved. At least they

have touched so seldom on essentials, as to betray an apparent indifference about them.

“As to secession, there are but few cases in which it is excusable; one, when all is utterly lost, and when it is a disgrace to belong to the legislature: in this case, the secession should be complete like that of Grattan, who has returned to a private station.

“Of all modes of publishing and circulating just principles, that of parliamentary debates is the most effectual, for they are eagerly read by all ranks and classes in society. The importance of this vehicle, and the superior advantages it has over every other mode of using the press, have not been duly attended to. In the hands of a truly patriotic and intelligent phalanx, it were the seat of Jove, from whence political lightning and thunder would be sure to arrest the attention of men. But, without any figure, a patriotic party in Parliament ought to take a comprehensive view of their country's wrongs, and of the proper constitutional remedies; and contrive, on a regular systematic plan, to hold up both continually to view; so that the public might in due time perceive their drift, the wisdom of their counsels, the virtue of their measures, and the indispensable necessity of uniting with them for saving the state. Adieu! God bless you.

“Your affectionate uncle,

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ 25th June, 1798.

“ DEAR EDMUND,

“ By this post you will find yourself called on to decide a most important question. Whether as an officer of an English Militia, you are a volunteer to serve in the present civil war in Ireland. You will see that Mr. Wombwell and the majority of the officers have determined in the affirmative, and that Lord Fitzwilliam and a minority have refused to go. There are also about 100 of the privates who refuse. Mr. Wombwell does not offer you any advice, nor give you any opinion. I think it, however, right to mention to you what he said to your father and me last night. That he disapproved of the measure, that he told his company he disapproved of it, and if he had been offered the rank of lieutenant-general as an inducement, he would have refused, but that his military services began with them, and as they had decided to go, he would go also; and he repeatedly declared to us that although he thought the thing wrong, he had not fortitude to resist. I mention this, that you may know his real mind, as I wish you on all occasions to pay a just deference to one who has been so much your friend.

“ Now to the question itself in a constitutional point of view, the precedent is of the very worst kind. This very act has broken down the last fence we had between a militia and a standing army. On this ground, there can be no question in my judgment, but that the militia officer, as well as

the member of Parliament, ought to resist it. Those who are volunteers for the service ought to say, ‘as militia men, we cannot go, nor will we go; but if you will accept our services in any corps of another description we are ready to embark.’

“ But there is another branch of the question still more important. The habits of thinking introduced and rendered familiar to us by the existence of a standing army in our country, and by the horrible state policy of involving the country in war on unjust grounds, has almost extinguished in our minds all discrimination as to *the cause* in which we draw the sword; although no proposition can be more clear, than that on that point hinges the morality, and that is the distinction which decides, whether we commit justifiable homicide or murder.

“ Are you then sufficiently acquainted with the measures and the system of government that have been pursued in Ireland, to say decidedly whether or not the resistance of the people be justifiable or the contrary? If on this point you are in the dark, to volunteer to Ireland in the service of Government, is to leave it to chance whether the acts you commit are to be justifiable homicide or murder. Can you run such a risk? If you will allow me to offer an opinion on this point, not lightly taken up, nor without inquiry and information, and a certain knowledge to a sufficient extent for governing that opinion; I have to say, that in my judg-

ment, no nation ever had a juster cause for resistance to oppression than the Irish.

“ But still it may be said, it is the policy of our Government that Ireland should not succeed, because separation from England and union with France would be the consequence, and therefore on a principle of self-defence, we ought to suppress the present insurrection. To this I, in the first place, answer, that murder is rather too much to commit on systems of policy. Secondly, that if Englishmen should think it a legitimate cause of war, that Ireland should be compelled to unite with England rather than France; to embark in such a war under the present ministry, and in the present state of things, were to unsheath the sword to establish a hideous despotism over both islands; for those who, in that cause, have scourged Ireland into her present resistance, are equally prepared to act the same part in England; and if Ireland be once reduced to slavery by means of an English army, Irish armies will be made to return the favour, and to subjugate the people of England. Thirdly, as it is the evident interest of Ireland, provided she can have freedom, to unite with England rather than France, we ought, by restoring her liberty and recovering her affection, to lay the grounds of union; to which end the present rulers in both nations ought to be displaced, and substantial *reforms* for the security of freedom ought to take place; and if there be left to Englishmen

no means of effecting these changes, but by withholding from the ministers our personal aid and assistance in their horrid schemes, this, at least, is in the power of each individual.

“ I will not at present trouble you with any thing more on the subject. Wishing you only to decide on the ground of morality on a question of such high importance,

“ I subscribe myself,

“ Your affectionate uncle,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ 6th of March, 1798.

“ Looking to the bottom of the unhappy situation of Ireland I cannot but much lament your going thither, especially in a military character, to be one of the rulers with a rod of iron of that ill-fated country.

“ As the scene to which you are going will furnish to politicians and historians abundant matter for narrative and argument, I *earnestly* recommend to you, from the moment you set foot in Ireland, to keep a regular journal of all political and military occurrences coming within your knowledge, either from personal observation or authentic information ; also a separate record of all such occurrences already past, of which you shall obtain accounts to be relied on. I need not say, you ought to do this with perfect impartiality to the various factions, interests and parties in the country, in order that it may hereafter furnish a fund of matter which may be useful.

“ You must however be upon your guard in receiving your information, and should always note down your *authority* and the political party of your informant; because you will probably have abundant occasion to correct your first statement; and in the present inflamed state of mind in that miserable island, no man ought implicitly to receive from any party his statement of facts.

“ In conversing with men of different parties, always dive to the bottom of their opinions, by making yourself master of the political principles they build upon, and their notions of the constitution of their country; and on these points endeavour to settle your own opinions on some principles which to your own mind are solid and incontrovertible, or you never can form a rational and valuable estimate of the opinions of others. On the essentials of the constitution, I trust you will find a safe counsellor in the ‘ Appeal ’.

“ As the grand difficulty, at present, in harmonizing Ireland, is the claims which numbers of Catholics imagine they have to the estates of Protestants, whose ancestors stepped into them when forfeited to the Crown, it should be an object of your particular attention to find out, if possible, to what extent it is supposed any such claims or pretended claims could be plausibly made out; and whether or not there be a reasonable probability, that if the Catholics were in all other respects to be treated with protection and kindness, and gradually emancipated, and placed on an equality

with Protestants, they would become 'good subjects.—I think I see the difficulties in the case; but I also think they are not insuperable. As the present distempers of Ireland are unquestionably the fruits of seed sown in former reigns and former ages, it will be impossible to form a judgment, without carefully perusing the history of the country. I should therefore recommend to you Warner's History; in which you will find enumerated all the other historians. Thucydides and Xenophon studied history in the bustle of action and of war; but neither of them had, in my judgment, inducements so powerful, or hopes so well founded of doing good, from acquiring a true knowledge of the affairs of Greece, as an Englishman now has, from making himself master of the constitution of this country, and of the causes of the corruption and disorders in both England and Ireland.

“ With regard to your military plans and prospects, I have so little satisfaction, or rather so much dissatisfaction, in the employments given to both army and militia, that, in my own judgment, the sooner you are clear of both, the sooner you will be out of danger of being made an instrument of injustice. Whatever are your present sentiments on the services expected from military men, and whatever may be your present ideas on the subject of military obedience, a time I think will come, when you will know, that to employ the military against the liberties or constitution of the people,

is the very consummation of political wickedness ; and how to ascertain the fact when it happens, or well to understand when a military man ought to stop in the career of obedience, is a point of much delicacy and embarrassment.”

“ I am, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

“ TO THE REV. E. CARTWRIGHT.

“ B. F. 6th February, 1801.

“ DEAR EDMUND,

“ I have long been intending to write to you, but business and engagements, and absence from home, have prevented it. I wish you joy of your new appointments, and sincerely wish the young man you mention may prove your friend, and a valuable man in the community, as I also hope that no connexions, however elevated, you shall form, will eventually influence your mind so as to prevent its forming an unbiassed judgment on public questions ; but rather that, by forming such judgments yourself, you may prove a safe and valuable counsellor, if your opinion should ever be asked by those in much higher stations. I say this, because of the very critical and awful period in which I am now writing ; a period which, I much fear, is not rightly understood by the persons alluded to, nor by such in general as surround them, and have their confidence. I wish you as little to take upon trust my own notions on public matters, as those of any other.

“ Your determination against settling here as an agriculturist has changed my views, and I now wish, as soon as an opportunity shall present itself, to sell this estate.

“ Woad is now at £40 per ton ; I should have been going on well in that article, had not this new clap of thunder come from the North, which I fear will strike a deadly blow at our trade, as there are strong appearances of all the ports of Europe being shut against us. With every good wish,

“ I am, my dear Edmund,

“ Your affectionate uncle,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In 1800 Major Cartwright first began to bring forward his ideas on the subject of a temple of naval celebration; a subject which was at that time much agitated, and for which many plans were offered to the public.

It has been the opinion of many persons of distinguished taste, that the design which he took so much pains to recommend to the attention of Government, was by far the noblest that came under their consideration: and the late venerable President of the Royal Academy (Mr. West) declared, that it would immortalize the name of its author.

The beauty and elegance of the accompanying decorations have been acknowledged by the artists who have examined them; and it is worthy of remark, that some of these ornaments have been

appropriately adopted in the admired monument of one of our naval heroes.

Among these designs, forty-six in number, were five nautic orders of architecture, personifications of eight of the winds, studies for bas-relievos, numerous friezes full of taste and imagination, and a personification of the Genius of Britain, intended to crown the column. A list of the drawings exhibited will be found in the Appendix.

Though Major Cartwright had never studied drawing as a science, nor was able to give those finishing touches to which it must owe its principal effect, yet natural taste and a discriminating eye enabled him to give correct and beautiful outlines, from which more experienced artists completed the coloured drawings afterwards exhibited by him for the benefit of the Marine Society*.

Mr. Gandy, the celebrated architect, was employed for the elevation of the column, Hamilton (since deceased) and Stothard for the friezes and ornamental decoration, and Turner for the sea-fights, represented in entablatures upon the base; and the manner in which they are executed, is not less worthy of the taste of the designer, than of the skill of those whom he employed. It was the earnest wish of the writer to have given an engraving from this beautiful drawing, but besides the great expense of employing a first-rate artist,

* The original outline of the elevation consigned to the flames by its author, was happily rescued from destruction by Mrs. Cartwright, by whom it is carefully preserved.

it was thought impossible on the small scale required for an octavo volume to do any thing like justice to the design, or its decorations.

The ardour with which Major Cartwright engaged in this design, in the midst of his other avocations, can hardly be conceived by those who are unacquainted with the energy of his character, his enthusiastic affection for his original profession, and his unceasing desire to embellish as well as to serve his country.

In his opinion, the fine arts, as well as the cultivation of every manly feeling and acquirement, would have been the necessary consequences of this comprehensive design, for the adoption of which he spared neither time nor trouble. That any prejudice could arise from its being *his* work, he could scarcely bring himself to credit; and it was not till after many years of fruitless toil, and an expense which amounted to above five hundred pounds, that he gave up entirely all hopes of its erection.

In his work called "The Trident", he has detailed every particular relative to this design; in which were to be comprehended a variety of objects for the improvement of science, and the encouragement and reward of genius; in short, for every thing which can embellish a country, exalt the character of its people, or promote the welfare of the state.

But it is necessary to resume the narrative of his exertions in the cause of reform in Parliament,

and the following confidential epistle, connected with the subject, is here presented to the reader* :

“ TO MR. THOMAS HARDY.

“ 5th February, 1801.

“ DEAR CITIZEN,

“ I this day received your letter of the 24th ult. I was at the time putting a finishing hand to a string of resolutions I had been requested to frame for a large town, where I have reason to believe they will be adopted, together with a petition to the House of Commons.

“ The expectations you give me of a Common Hall are extremely gratifying, as I believe that manly conduct in that body would, at this crisis, fly through the country like wild-fire. And as you give me credit, not only for good wishes in favour of freedom, but for having rendered the state some service, and by long experience having acquired some judgment how we ought now to act, I will send you, as soon as they can be transcribed, the resolutions above-mentioned. They are purposely calculated for all meridians in our island, and if I were to choose that in which they should be first adopted and published, it would, beyond all question, be the meridian of London.

* Major Cartwright was first introduced to Mr. Hardy at Mr. Tooke's, in the year 1792 ; but their chief acquaintance and correspondence took place after the trials in 1794. Soon after that event, Major Cartwright called on Mr. Hardy, and told him, “ *that no man but himself should ever make him a pair of shoes so long as either of them lived* ” ; a promise he strictly adhered to, until Mr. Hardy retired from business.

“ They are not, according to the usual fashion of such productions, couched in a very few words. That mode may do, when the public mind needs no instruction ; but it seems to me proper, at this juncture, that those who take a lead in raising up an effectual resistance to ministers, should do it in so enlightened a mode, as to shew that they understand and feel the deplorable case of their country, and are well able to instruct all who wish to follow their example.

“ What I have already said, is an answer to your question, of *what I think should now be done*. I am decidedly against applying to the King, because I do not want a statement of the public grievances to sink into the pocket of a bed-chamber lord, never more to be seen or heard of. But what I now say is with an exception to the *Livery of London in Common Hall* ; for I would have them apply both to the King and House of Commons, and never to abandon their right to be heard upon the throne. Upon the last-mentioned point, I sent up to town by a friend, in October last, a letter for publication in an opposition paper, with instructions to have the whole of it printed, or none at all. It came back, but without explanation. As it may serve on a future occasion, and you can make a better use of it than I can, it shall be sent you.

“ If your friends of the Livery should think my opinions of any value, they are, on the points of your letter, as follows :

“ 1. As the saving a nation so nearly ruined as this now is, cannot be done by superficial measures, or by any measures not calculated to instruct the public mind, to excite the public sympathy, to arouse the public spirit, to inflame the public indignation, and to unite in one focus the public opinion ; so, in all our public movements, we must aim at doing all this, or we shall do nothing.

“ 2. We cannot act with all this energy too soon, nor take too much pains, by publishing our resolutions and by correspondence with the populous towns, to animate our countrymen.

“ 3. We should exert ourselves in procuring proper members to present our petitions to the House, and to bring the subjects of them into discussion.

“ 4. Whenever such resolutions as I allude to are published in the newspapers, the newspaper press should throw off plenty of copies separately for circulation.

“ I do not agree with many, who think it is even now too late so to compose the public mind as to be able to stop at *Reform*, instead of driving on to a *Revolution* ; since I am thoroughly convinced, that a complete reform in the representative part of our government, would still save some certain privileged parties, how little soever they may be thought by some to deserve saving. I consequently still think it their interest to join us with sincerity. In the transports of recovered liberty, we should be in too good humour to keep in re-

membrance their past sins ; and having that liberty completely secured against their future attacks, we should not trouble our heads with what they wore on theirs. The example of France would certainly operate, to prevent our thinking of settling things on a totally new bottom. To them it seems, indeed, to have been necessary. There was no intermediate point on which they could rest with safety. To us such a total change is not, in my judgment, necessary ; and I should fear that to attempt any such thing, would do us infinitely more harm than good. An English Government, according to our constitution, is questionless a republic ; and provided only we secure the complete independence of the House of Commons, which I think we now know how to do, it would be far too good a republic to be hazarded upon speculation, in hopes of something better : and I am perfectly confident that so general would be the confidence in it, and so general would be the dread of any attempt to go farther, that here we should stop and repose in perfect safety to liberty ; for if the genuine representatives of the people have once the command of the purse-strings, there is nothing they indeed may not take, if provoked to it ; but when they are known to possess the power, they will never receive the provocation.

“ Yours sincerely,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

As in this letter Major Cartwright says, that
“ the English Government is questionless a re-

public", it may not be amiss to quote a passage in his "Commonwealth in Danger", p. 107, where, in advancing the same opinion, he gives examples to prove that this opinion was confirmed by the statute-book, as well as by history. "It is", says he, "beyond all question, that notwithstanding the antient phrases and style of 'kingdom', 'monarchy', and 'his Majesty's dominions', and so forth, were most unwisely suffered to pass current, the Government, in its composition, form, frame, and substance, was truly a commonwealth. But, indeed, from its Saxon ancestry, and from the popular blood in its veins, it had in many seasons, and at very early periods, been so styled in acts of Parliament, as may be seen by consulting the statute book. See Richard II. stat. 1. 'To the praise and honour of Almighty God, the profit of the realm of England, and the service of the *Republic*', &c.

"31 Hen. VIII. c. 10. 'Forasmuch as in all great counsels and congregations of men, having sundry degrees and offices in the Commonwealth, it is very requisite', &c.

"Ed. VI. c. 1. 'To the intent that his loving subjects, provoked by clemency and goodness of their prince and king, shall study rather for love than for fear to do their duties; first to Almighty God, and then to his Highness and the *Commonwealth*', &c.

"Queen Elizabeth, in her speech to the deputies of the Commons—see Rapin: "I know that the *Commonwealth* is to be governed for the good and

advantage of those that are committed to me ; not of myself', &c. ; and again, ' I think myself most happy that by God's assistance, I have hitherto so prosperously governed the Commonwealth in all respects.'

" James I., anno 1621., says, ' The king makes laws, and ye are to advise to make such as will be best for the *Commonwealth*.' "

He then proceeds to quote Sir Thomas Smith, one of Elizabeth's privy counsellors, Sir John Davis, attorney-general to the same queen, Lord Coke, and Blackstone, who all make use of the word *Commonwealth* in speaking of the Government of this country.

In February, 1801, Major Cartwright was anxious to promote meetings in the different counties, for the discussion of the subject of reform, as appears by the following letter from Earl Stanhope :—

" Chevening, February, 1801.

" DEAR AND EXCELLENT CITIZEN,

" You have known me too long not to be sure of the approbation which my heart must bestow on every truly honest and enlightened plan for promoting a reform. I have again and again considered all the means, the legal and laudable means, which you suggest, and others of a similar description. I have weighed the whole in the scales of probability ; I am willing to follow London, if London acts right—I am willing to follow Yorkshire, if Yorkshire acts right. I *was* (not *am*) will-

ing to do more ; namely, for the *minority of one* to propose a meeting of men of property and enlightened men. I have spoken to some, thought much, and I repeat it, I have weighed the whole in the *scales of probability*—and my inference is, that success is not likely to attend your laudable plans to effectuate a reform, nor mine at present.

“ I have a firmer, more cheering, and a better trust ; namely, in a kind Providence : and many of the best men in the nation are growing of this opinion. But come what will to our dear and threatened country and perfect constitution, be assured, my dear friend, that you will ever find me, unaltered, unalterable, and immoveable in the storms of fate.

“ Ever your faithful

“ STANHOPE.”

Major Cartwright published, in 1801, his letter to Wyvill, in which he urges that gentleman to promote, by his presence in London, the formation of a society, to be entitled “ A Society for promulgating Parliamentary Reform, on the true Principles of Representation, for the Recovery of Political Liberty.”

Speaking of enthusiasm, he says,

“ Let not the word be condemned. You, my dear Sir, are an enthusiast : without enthusiasm, who ever excelled ? Who ever became illustrious by great achievements, without this heavenly spark ? Who ever toiled in the cause of truth or virtue or public freedom ?

“ Enthusiasm is the ardent spirit in the composition of the mind, without which it neither resists corruption, nor is influenced by a genuine love of liberty.”——

The work concludes by an eloquent appeal in favour of the labouring classes of society.

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ Burton Hall, April 28th, 1801.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Yesterday, in the morning, I received yours of the 20th instant, and in the evening, the packet which it announced, containing the copies of your printed letter to me ; for all which I return you my thanks. On the subject of your printed letter I shall take a little time for meditation, and then inform you sincerely how far I can concur with you, and where I must be obliged to take a different road, in pursuit of the same object ; viz. the freedom and happiness of the public.

“ With respect to the contents of your written letter, I am not surprised at your contempt of the major part of our country gentry ; many of whom are too little accustomed to reflection to have formed any rational judgment of our political situation, or any just principles of conduct to guide them at this time. Yet, as I have formerly said, I think them more prejudiced and deluded by the friends of power, than corrupted by its bribes. If, therefore, it had appeared to you that you could, with propriety and effect, have applied to the bo-

dies who are preparing a petition to prolong the pause which, at your instance, they conceded before, I did hope that our honest but deluded gentry, in the failure of this third negociation, might have been induced to come forward; but on reading your printed papers, I found that I asked what was too contrary to your plans to be granted.

“ I am, dear Sir, &c.

“ CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ May 29th, 1801.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ The printer at York has at last finished my very short letter in reply to yours of the 14th of March, and twelve copies will be sent to yourself, which I request you to accept. I cannot hope so trifling a piece can do much, if any good; but at least, it can do no harm.

“ I find our friends in Yorkshire are so apprehensive of universal suffrage, that, in order to prevent the possibility of doing harm, I must add, in a new edition, two or three pages by way of explanation, to shew that I consider the principle of universal suffrage as only applicable to some future and improved state of society, now at a great distance. When the second edition is published, I shall take care you shall see it. And I hope you and your friends will duly consider the difficulties I have to avoid, when I admit the principle, but dissuade the practice, from knowing, as I do, the insuperable objections of many even of our warm

friends, and which I feel as not without great force. Wishing you well at all times,

“ I remain, dear Sir, &c.

• “ CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.”

Major Cartwright being obliged, on account of his brother's patent causes, to go to London in the month of April of this year, took that opportunity of endeavouring to forward his plans, already mentioned, for the adoption of the Hieronauticon, or Naval Temple, as a national structure. His letters to Mrs. Cartwright, during this period, are chiefly upon this subject.

“ April, 1801.

“ I have this morning seen, and left with Lord St. Vincent, the column. He received me with expressing great pleasure in renewing an acquaintance that had been suspended for thirty years. On seeing the design, and hearing the explanation of it, he said every thing that was gratifying, and that nothing which had appeared could be thought of after it.

“ Lord St. Vincent sent for his principal secretary, who, he said, had a taste for these things, in order that he might accompany me to Mr. Davison's, the treasurer and chief manager of the society for erecting a pillar. In half an hour I shall call on the secretary for that purpose. The interval has been employed in meeting with lawyers about Amatt and Co.”

“ 7th of April.

This morning Old Barry breakfasted with me, in company with General Debbieg*, and saw the column. In the course of examination he suggested only one alteration, which was to omit the pedestal, agreeably to the admired specimen of the temple of Diana of Athens; but on hearing my reasons for retaining it, he entirely agreed with me. He was, moreover, pleased to pay the column, for its naval instruction and the grandeur of the design, very high encomiums.

“ I am just come from the exhibition of naval pillars sent in by the competitors for the prize medals. Some are very fine, and many very paltry.

“ I this day met my old friend Wilberforce in the street, who shook me very kindly by the hand, and asked much after you. Among other friendly expressions, he said he hoped we should meet in a better world: I answered, that ‘ *I hoped we should first mend the world we were in.*’

“ On Wednesday I shall see an engraver about the pillar, but do not think I shall agree with him. * * * * * has called four or five times, but has never invited me to his dinners. Has he been told not to keep bad company?—He, however, once talked of my taking a family dinner with him when I had done with the lawyers.

“ This I should prefer, as I have too much re-

* In West’s celebrated picture of the death of Wolfe, the portrait of General Debbieg may be seen in one of the figures standing immediately behind the expiring hero.

gard for him to wish to be of his parties when he has about him the slaves of office, whose company I as little like as they can mine.

“ As soon as the trial shall be over and decided, as I trust it will be in our favour, there will be several orders for machines, so that I now look forward with the fairest prospect, not only to the recovery of some part of my great losses in this business (not less than £14000), but to a repayment to C. E. and F. of what they have also lost in forwarding the same object.”

“ TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE H. ADDINGTON.

“ No. 28, Arundel Street, Strand.

“ 11th of November, 1801.

“ SIR,

“ It being amongst the rumours of the day, that, towards alleviating the public burthens, you have, amongst other resources, turned your thoughts to the royal forests, the writer thinks it right to suggest to you, that in case the forests should be alienated, except on a plan which should have for its basis the providing in future an assured supply of oak timber for the navy, consequences extremely dangerous to the public may ensue.

“ For the purpose now spoken of, a plan was presented to Lord North by the writer about thirty years ago, and according to his recollection, it was likewise offered to the consideration of every minister.

“ As that plan will doubtless be found in your

office, it is recommended to your attention, especially as it is believed the principle of the plan will be found equally applicable to the estates of the Crown in general.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

“ 5th March, 1801.

“ MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

“ Yours of the third entered the door as the Duke of Clarence went out. He and Sir C. Pole had been about two hours, during which time I explained to my royal visitant the whole design, with which he seemed so little wearied, that he expressed a wish to see it again before it went to the committee, and assured me he would attend the committee when it should be presented.

“ He asked me many questions, and expressed much approbation, and as he professed not to understand architecture, his approbation seemed to arise more from feeling than from court politeness.

“ Lady S—— was prevented keeping her appointment, which makes it probable she will not see the drawings before they go to the committee, for I cannot give much time to the inconstants of fashion.

“ Lord and Lady Buckinghamshire are to be here on Monday, and I hope Lady Albinia. The same day, I expect Hodges and our new niece.

“ It is now intended that all the naval history on the column shall be executed in bronze, which has this recommendation, that it can be executed as fast as the building is carried up, and therefore does away the only objection made to the design by an artist, which was, that the scale was so great sculptors could not be found to execute it.

“ You complain of the shortness of my letters, and speak of ten minutes as nothing, whereas, ten minutes are more precious in my sight than ten millions in the sight of a minister.

“ I am generally up at five, sometimes sooner, and working till dark. In order to get through what is before me, I must work morning, noon and night, so, when I fail to write, suppose me intent on the additions, corrections and polishings of the Trident, or ‘The National Policy of Naval Celebration.’”

“ 25th March.

“ I could not write yesterday ; first, because I was much pressed for time, and secondly, because I was this day to shew my child to Lords Romney and Spencer, Sir C. Colpoys, and Sir W. Dolben, as President of the Marine Society, to which I have offered the profits of my book, and if they think fit, of an exhibition of the drawings. They have been here with our friend Young, and paid the child many compliments. Indeed, now I have got its face prettily painted, I really think it looks beautiful. Six of the large pieces of historic sculp-

ture are put upon it, and till I saw the effect, I could scarcely believe how much it would enrich the elevation.

“ The estimate for the shell and column ornamented is £662,000 ; supposing it to take fourteen years, the annual expence will be £75,000. If the whole were paid by lottery, it would stand on voluntary subscription, and if paid by the public, still the expence of each year would be less than the expence of half a day during the late war.

“ I have not seen West lately ; he is preparing for the exhibition. Wyatt also fixed to come, but did not. Nothing, as it strikes me, will prevent the Marine Society from accepting my offer, unless Lord —, fearing what may be in the book, should influence them ; but when they shall see it, although I say nothing inconsistent with my own sentiments, they will find nothing to give offence.”

“ April 3d, 1802.

“ I was just sitting down to write yesterday, when Southey and his friend Duppa, the painter, called on me, and kept me engaged until obliged to run away to dinner. Southey breakfasted with me the day before, and told me he had been dreaming and thinking of the Naval Temple ever since.

“ If there should be any considerable profit from the book or exhibition, it would have been convenient enough, as I am at this moment disappointed of money out of Yorkshire, but I preferred offering it to the Marine Society.

“ This society since its institution by Jonas Hanway has furnished to the navy above 55,000 men and boys.

“ I am hunting for a book on the fine arts, written by the present minister, who is said to be favourable to them.

“ To-morrow Lord Nelson * and Sir W. Hamilton are to be here.”

“ April 26, 1802.

“ The Marine Society have elected me an honorary member, and accept of the exhibition, for which Mr. Christie has very handsomely offered me the use of one of his great rooms in Pall-Mall.

“ I hope your mother will be able to hear you read the history of my castles in the air, in which there will be nothing to agitate or interest much, but something to amuse.

“ With regard to engravers, they are, that is all the good ones, so engaged, that I have not been able yet to obtain one for the nautic orders only. I have conversed with Lowry, who is the best in that way.

“ No answer yet from Mr. Addington. Although this is vexatious and wearisome, it seems to me that if he were determined to throw cold water on the

* Lord Nelson expressed his great admiration of the design, and remarked that it ought to be placed so in sight of the Thames, that every seaman sailing from or returning to the metropolis, might be reminded of his country's glory.

design, he would probably have given an answer before this time.

“ In return for my book, the Royal Academy have sent me, by the hands of their secretary, a very handsome letter of thanks, which says ‘ that they will be happy to place in their library a work which evinces such an honourable zeal in the cause of the country and its arts.’ ”

The following letter is from the late venerable President of the Royal Academy, for whom Major Cartwright entertained sentiments of the truest regard, and with whom he kept up an intimacy through life :—

“ Newman Street, October 12, 1802.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I am just returned to this place from Paris, and found your letter of the 10th of September waiting for me. My visit to Paris has been to the galleries of art which that city contains. They are truly wonderful, and are what the united world cannot make again of the works of those masters which constitute their greatness.

“ To give you some idea of them, the gallery of paintings is in length 1600 feet, forty feet wide, and near the same in height ; as long as Pall Mall, and filled by the first works of the greatest masters of the Italian, Flemish, and French schools. The gallery of ancient statues is 150 yards in length, forty in width, the same in height : that gallery contains all that is fine in statues by the ancients,

with the Apollo and Laocoon at their head. The gallery of drawings by old masters is of the same size as that of the statues.

“ To a man who knows what constitutes fine arts, these galleries are the greatest entertainment the world can afford.

“ Of the collection you inquired after belonging to Count Truckness I know nothing, but if they are of the same quality of those he brought to England, I think he would be wise to let them rest in Germany; and as to this country making a national gallery of pictures and statues to rival those of Paris, would be idle and vain, the French not having left materials enough in the world to afford it.

“ I am, therefore, most inclined to a national gallery made by the abilities of our own countrymen, and the subjects to fill it, national; so that it would be the rival of our neighbours, and the glory of the country.

“ The artists who have seen your design much approve it. Whether his Majesty has read your book I cannot inform you, my time having been spent for the last eight weeks at Paris. Should I when I go to Windsor, which will be in a few days, know whether it has been read by him, I will give you information. With great respect

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your obedient and obliged

“ BENJAMIN WEST.”

Towards the end of this year, being still anxiously employed in collecting evidence of the piracies of his brother's machinery, a person of the name of Heron, who was employed by him for that purpose was arrested and had his papers searched, a circumstance alluded to in the following letter :

“ 4th December, 1802.

“ My emissary Heron, whom I sent into Yorkshire, is in custody. Of this his wife brought me word last Monday, and said one of the Bow-street officers found one of my letters in his possession, which he could not understand. I dare say this letter was laid before the decypherer, as containing, under the mask of *drawing off rollers* and *crank-lashers*, something dangerous to the state. Be this as it may, I immediately waited on the Attorney-General. He was not at chambers, but I left a note to say, that Heron was suspected of having been sent into Yorkshire on some improper errand, and that I was ready to explain the business whenever he would honour me with an appointment.

“ I received an answer on Thursday, excusing himself from receiving any information from me, as it would be of no use. I then immediately replied that his letter had surprised me, and proceeded to explain the meaning of my correspondence with Heron, on a business about which I had already one trial, and was preparing for another.

The next morning brought me a very polite answer from the Attorney-General*.

“ You ask my opinion about the affair of Despard; what is his character I know not, but if he be guilty of what is laid to his charge, he must be more insane than Peg Nicholson. . .

“ In an attempt at assassination, one man may hope to approach the object, but for Despard with a gang of blackguards at his heels, to kill the King when going in state surrounded by guards; to take the Tower, which is fortified and garrisoned; and to seize the Bank, where a strong guard is mounted; must be madness run mad.

“ I hope the news of the total expulsion of the French from St. Domingo is true. It must make Buonaparte's pillow very uneasy. Fresh armies may not choose to fight the yellow fever, nor will he have much hope of subduing these blacks, after the failure of so vast a force.”

In 1803, Major Cartwright published his “ Letter to the Electors of Nottingham ”, which the Anti-Jacobin Review for May in the same year, called a senseless jargon on the constitution and popular rights, but of which the monthly reviewers gave a different account. “ In a strain ”, say they, “ of bold, nervous, and animated eloquence, the author attacks that which is called the borough faction,

* Heron was liberated in a few days after this correspondence.

and reprobates with indignation the despotic principle of taxation without representation."

One reason which the *Anti-Jacobin Review* gave for disapproving of Major Cartwright's work, originated, in his "neither agreeing with Mr. Reeves, who was a lawyer and understood the constitution, nor yet with Mr. Arthur Young."

Nothing indeed could be more at variance than the political sentiments of the author of the Letter to the Electors of Nottingham, and those which these gentlemen had professed in their different publications. Mr. Reeves, in his "Thoughts on the English Government", asserted, that the English Constitution was a *monarchy* (a government by one), and that each of its members might be lopped off and thrown into the fire, without injuring that constitution; and Mr. Arthur Young (see page 94 of his "Example of France a Warning to Great Britain"), maintains that the Commons House of Parliament is not intended to represent the Commons of this country.

The letter to the electors of Nottingham was followed by another which Major Cartwright addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, on a review of the proceedings upon the petitions, complaining of an undue election and return for the town of Nottingham.

This being the period at which the overwhelming ambition of Napoleon Buonaparte spread dismay throughout the country, he was anxiously em-

ployed in devising means of defence against the invasion so generally expected.

- He was indefatigable in promoting meetings of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, in apprizing the Government of the unprepared state of the Lincolnshire coast, and in communicating to them various plans for its protection.

Though his representations were little regarded at the time, it was afterwards fully proved that his alarm was not ill-founded, and that his knowledge in naval and military affairs had led him to form a just conclusion on the subject; that very coast, from the peculiar accommodation it afforded for the disembarkation of troops, having been intended as the scene of French operations if an invasion of this country had taken place*.

Among the different plans which at this time occupied his attention, was a flying drawbridge, which met with the approbation of the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore. He also invented a pike of a peculiar construction, which he denominated the Britannic Spear.

This weapon, though it was not adopted by those to whom it was then offered†, has nevertheless been highly approved of by a number of military men of different nations, and he had the satisfaction of knowing before he died that one of those spears had been conveyed as a model to Greece. A drawing and explanation of this weapon was given

* See Paine's pamphlet quoted in the *Ægis*.

† See Appendix, No. X.

in his "Hints to the Greeks", published in 1821, together with some military manœuvres which he conceived were peculiarly adapted to the Greek mode of warfare.

In this year he republished Sir William Jones's Inquiry into the Legal Mode of Suppressing Riots*.

Disturbances having taken place at Nottingham during the election, he thus alludes to the subject in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, written in February, 1803:—

"Riot, intemperance and intimidation are not to be justified, but I believe the truth to be, that none had their coats torn, or were otherwise ill-used, except the identical persons who, a few years back, had been concerned in the most wanton and brutal behaviour towards all who were opposers of the late war; on which occasion houses were broken open and persons dragged out, halters were put round their necks, and they were plunged into the muddy brook by the side of the town. At that time there was no cry through the kingdom against such enormities, no inquiry after the perpetrators, all was as it should be; but now that the popular voice is in favour of freedom, the nobility and gentry make large subscriptions to keep it down, and tearing coats is an unpardonable offence.

"In consequence of the known wishes of some,

* The opinion of Mr. Granville Sharp on the same subject may be seen in the Appendix, No. XI.

and the presumed inclination of others, and in hope of rendering good service to the cause of truth, justice, and English liberty, I have printed my thoughts on public affairs in a Letter to the Electors of Nottingham, saying that they should not want a representative to act on the principles there laid down, and if they choose to invite me I am at their service.

“ My brother* and I have had a very friendly correspondence on the subject of my standing for Nottingham.

“ A letter from N. just arrived speaks with confidence of my success, but I scarcely think it can yet be judged of.

“ Personally, I feel at ease. There are things in Parliament which I am certainly anxious to attempt, and several of these things do not depend on oratory but are within my capacity and strength. On this subject do not disturb your mind; the event is but a chance and probably a slight one. I am well aware that success might be followed by inconvenience; but I believe I am influenced by a sense of duty, and I am much too old to pursue politics for popularity.”

* Captain Cartwright was at this time barrack-master of Nottingham. During the electioneering disturbances, though holding an obnoxious situation, and known to be a violent Tory politician, he used to walk and ride through the streets in the midst of the popular commotion; and while others on the same side were afraid to show themselves, a way was invariably made for him to pass without insult or molestation.

“ 13th May.

“ We have had two days interval (of law business concerning the patent causes), but they were not days of rest to me. Wednesday I was at work from seven in the morning till eleven at night, with only breakfast, and occasionally a dish of chocolate. Yesterday I was very busy from six till near eleven at night, but had got so far through my work as to have nothing on my mind. I am to enter on my reply to-morrow, and Mr. — is to have a rejoinder. I hope all will be over to-morrow except the award upon which the arbitrators will consult by themselves. What time it will take to have it signed and engrossed in form I know not, but I shall urge despatch : arbitrators and lawyers are however not to be driven, and they do not work from six in the morning till eleven at night. .

“ I am alive and merry, and have better and better hopes of a good award.”

“ 30th June.

“ The award is pronounced for £1250 damages. I am astonished, but there is no remedy ; and the less that is said about it the better. I must do as well as I can ; and it will be my study to get into a more tranquil state.

“ The Morning Chronicle this moment tells me, that Mr. Secretary Yorke has written to the lords lieutenant *not* to drive the country on the approach of an enemy, but only to remove horses and oxen. I have strong hopes that the eyes of the ministers

are opening to the proper means of defence, and to the present unprepared state of the country. They say there is only one battalion between Portsmouth and Brighthelmstone."

The harassing and expensive business relative to these piracies being now concluded, he returned into Lincolnshire, and was once more occupied on the subject of the defence of the country, and particularly of that part where he resided.

" TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.,

" St. Anne's Hill, 28th November, 1803.

" DEAR SIR,

" I return you many thanks for yours of the 22d, and the packet accompanying it.

" That your plan is on a right principle, is beyond a doubt; how far it might be so entirely practicable, even if men could get so far the better of their alarms at democracy as to think of adopting it, may possibly be more doubtful, but these alarms put all questions of now carrying it into execution beyond probability.

" It is impossible not to admire the steadiness with which you persevere in your endeavours at the public good; but it is vain to hope that you, who mean freedom, can ever get your systems patronized by those whose wish it is to enslave the country more and more.

" I am, with great regard, &c.

" CHARLES JAMES FOX."

" TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX.

" December, 1803.

" DEAR SIR,

" I received your obliging letter of the 28th of November, and am not so visionary as to hope that any system recommended by me will be willingly adopted by the conductors of our government, until that government may, by some extraordinary turn, get into the hands of men who reason and feel like Locke and Sidney. But unwise or corrupt men may, by want of money, be partly compelled, or, by events, driven headlong into other measures, and I send formally the *Ægis* to the ministers that it may implant in their minds a consciousness of knowingly pursuing wrong systems. The military despotism—for I cannot bring myself to write the word republic—of France, and the personal character of the First Consul, are much in our favour; and if that person shall act as we may expect, he may yet render us the greatest service, in opening the eyes of the fascinated nobility and gentry to our present situation.

" With regard to the scene of invasion, I expect it in *England** rather than in *Ireland*, as more

* " Had I succeeded in effecting a landing, I have little doubt that I should have accomplished my views. Three thousand boats, each to carry twenty men and one horse, with a proportion of artillery, were ready. Your fleet having been decoyed away, as I before explained to you, would have left me master of the channel. Without this, I would not have made the attempt. Four days would have brought me to London. In a country like England, abounding in plains, defence is difficult. I have no doubt your troops would have done their duty; but one battle

practicable, more in the manner of Buonaparte, and more likely to answer his views: and, indeed, in our present state of defence, we might, in my judgment, tremble for the consequences: but my opinion turns upon circumstances I have not time now to enter upon.

“ You seem to entertain doubts of the practicability, even if we had the disposition, of an arming so extensive as I recommend. Laying the basis of the system in first arming all tax-bearers, as those who are proprietors of the whole property of the country, the system should seem to be free even from difficulty, and much more from impracticability. Let us contemplate the right mode of proceeding.

“ 1. To call on tax-bearers, capable of the expense, to provide a stand of fire-arms and accoutrements.

“ 2. To call on all other tax-bearers to provide a Britannic spear, described in the *Ægis*, at an original expense of a few shillings, and causing no future expense in ammunition.

“ 3. To enrol the most proper representatives of females, and the infirm, of the above two classes, as their legal substitutes.

“ 4. For every *two* persons of the above de-

lost, the capital would have been in my power. You could not have collected a force sufficiently strong to beat me in a pitched battle. Your ideas of burning and destroying are very plausible in argument, but impracticable in theory.”—Voice from *St. Helena*, Vol. II. p. 368.

scriptions, to enrol *one* of an inferior description ; and for this last class, to provide arms at the public expense. And here part might be fire-arms and part spears, or even pikes.

“ As to training, I trust that, in the *Ægis*, I am fortified against all objections. But the rock of our freedom is, to get the arms and accoutrements into the houses of the people. The most difficult thing is, to provide for the permanency of the system ; and it would require all the wisdom and vigilance of our patriots to obtain laws for its future existence. .

“ I trouble you with these few observations, and I earnestly entreat you to pursue, in your own mind, the simple course to be taken, until your doubts of practicability are removed ; for, on a point of such infinite importance to freedom as this of arming, we ought not to be deprived of the benefit of your authority and power of persuasion.

“ I am, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO N. VANSITTART, ESQ.

“ Arundel Street, 21st February, 1804.

“ SIR,

“ Learning that his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence is not as yet able to appoint a meeting of the committee of naval celebration, for want of knowing the sentiments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his Royal Highness's communication of last year, I have the honour to request that

you will have the goodness to remind that minister of the communication I mention.

“ Business keeping me in town for some weeks to come, it would be convenient to me to attend upon the committee during that period, with the architectural design I am prepared to submit to their inspection, rather than be called out of the country for that purpose, which I hope may serve as an apology for the trouble I now give you. •

“ I have reason, Sir, to believe the design alluded to comprehends all that was suggested in a paper some time since presented to his Majesty by the Royal Academy of Arts, as well as other matters not unworthy the attention of British statesmen and a British sovereign.

• “ I have the honour to be”, &c.

In 1804, appeared the first edition of the *Ægis*; a work which obtained for its author the thanks and compliments of many persons whose opinions would carry with them much weight and consideration. Though the affected contempt of his writings shown of late years by one particular party of politicians, might justify their insertion, yet an unwillingness to mention, without absolute necessity, the names of living persons, and to swell these volumes with mere complimentary epistles, has determined the writer to confine herself to one letter on the subject, written by the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, after the publication of the second edition.

“ March 23d, 1806.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have just finished the perusal of your *Ægis*, which I received a few days ago, and for which I return you many thanks.

“ In the general principles on which your book is written, I have long been agreed with you ; and on reading it, I have scarcely met with any sentiments which I could not immediately approve, or any measure which, if I were a minister, I should hesitate to support. I am particularly pleased with the elevated tone in which you have delivered your remonstrance against the base corruption and servility of the age, and your own manly sentiments of patriotism and honour ; with your severe reprobation of the doctrines and measures of Burke and of Pitt and Melville, with your candour to the Duke of Richmond, when censuring the faults of his pamphlet, and your cordiality in praising that attachment to the constitution which is manifest in every page of it. I found, with pleasure, also, that you had privately communicated with persons in power, a short supplement of observations, which, in 1803, would have been less fit for publication. This was a very prudent precaution ; and it must, I think, gain you credit with the ministers, and with the public. The same ought to be the result of your having pointed out the coast of Lincolnshire as the most vulnerable part of England, so long before Paine's late pamphlet (which is quoted in your *Ægis*), has shewn, that

on that coast it was the actual intention of our foe to land in person, accompanied by Paine.

. “That your ideas will be adopted to the full extent of your plan, can hardly be expected, in an age so luxurious, from a parliament which contains such a mass of corruption, blended; it is true, with a considerable proportion of true public spirit and zeal for constitutional liberty; yet, as power is fortunately lodged in the hands of men who are unquestionably of this last and honourable description, and who possess, with the influence of their station and of their uncommon talents, the confidence of the public, at least in a very considerable degree, I hope the new measures to be brought forward in Parliament will be formed on your principles, to an extent which will give us a much increased security against every attempt of our foreign or domestic enemies to destroy the liberty and independence of our country. I congratulate you on the prospect, and hope you will live to receive that reward of public esteem and gratitude to which your patriotic labours justly entitle you.

“I am, dear Sir, with great regard, &c.

“CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.”

In another letter on the same subject, Mr. Wyvill says, “You already know I am of your opinion respecting the necessity of reverting to the practice of our ancestors, and of arming the nation.”

In the year 1805, Major Cartwright let his
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estate in Lincolnshire, and removed to Chase-Green, Enfield. This change was very agreeable to him in many respects, not only as it brought him nearer to some of his most intimate friends and political associates, but as he was thus released from those agricultural concerns which his increasing interest in public affairs had for some time rendered irksome to him. Soon after his settling at Enfield, an election took place for the county of Hertford; and so great were his exertions in favour of Mr. Brand, that he returned one day from the election in a state of such exhaustion, that his family were considerably alarmed for the consequences.

In this year he published, "The State of the Nation," in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford. The profits of this publication were given to the Middlesex Freeholders Club, instituted in 1804, for guarding the freedom of election, and thereby preserving the independence of the country, of which association he was the permanent chairman. By the permission of his Grace, a permission most obligingly expressed, he quoted in this work a passage in a letter from the Duke of Bedford decisive of his opinion upon the subject of reform. At the end of "The State of the Nation" is found a list of all those distinguished persons who have at different periods been most favourable to reform of Parliament.

While occupied in completing this series of letters, he thus writes to Mr. Wyvill :—

“ Enfield, 24th September, 1805.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I was much mortified to find that, in the business of Lord Melville, &c. you did not succeed in obtaining a county meeting in Yorkshire. I should wish to know from what quarter you found cold water thrown on the attempt, because, as all powerful men resort to the capital, and have influence more or less in Middlesex, it may be of use to know such men's characters.

“ On that occasion I was much disposed to have offered some motions to *our* county meeting, grounded on the evident connection between corruption in office, and corruption in Parliament, but thought it prudent to consult a very considerable person in opposition. It was his opinion, and that of Mr. Fox, that it was not then advisable, and I found they were much more afraid, than I even now think was necessary, of such motions having at that juncture an ill effect in the more distant parts of the kingdom. Although there could have been no doubt of their local success, and although I had promised myself much more extensive good, I consented to withhold my motions, and merely to state in argument my opinions, which I did, but it was only from a deference to the noble person I consulted and his friend, that I might not prejudice the question then immediately before the public, and with a full reservation to myself of a

right to take an early opportunity of bringing forward the general question of reform.

“ Although the spell of Mr. Pitt’s direful power was even then broken, yet perhaps it was as well to let the public see that meetings might be once more held without being dispersed by servile magistrates; perhaps it was as well that the people should once more feel their strength in a case wherein they were not likely to have a struggle. I say *perhaps*, and that *perhaps* is grounded on that which is not very honourable to men of family and distinction who have at any time professed a regard for public liberty, and the prosperity of their country; for with a very moderate portion of knowledge and spirit in that class of men, the opportunity might have been gloriously improved.

“ But we must not, my dear Sir, allow this degenerate idleness and insensibility to the public interests to destroy us. We must bring forward the doctrines of salvation. We must put a friendly force upon timidity and lukewarmness. Of the general mass of Englishmen, if judicious and convincing propositions can be presented to them, we are sure, and we must act accordingly.

“ I have a pamphlet nearly ready to appear—“ The State of the Nation”; in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford. Its grand object is, to urge the necessity of popular interference in public meetings, for obtaining a reform in our representation, and a removal of ministers, and I have

the Duke of Bedford's permission to quote a noble passage of a letter from him to me in April last, most decisive of his Grace's opinion of the absolute necessity of reform.

“ Considering the additional advantage given me by the unexampled profligacy with which the ministry and the corrupt part of parliament acted subsequent to our Middlesex County Meeting, I am now well content that I restrained myself on that occasion, and have since employed my time for giving force to the effort when it shall be made.

“ I am prepared with a requisition for calling a meeting of this county; and with the ready means for obtaining to it at least five hundred respectable signatures, as a thunder clap to the terrified apostate. This being the case, and considering also the great and expressed reluctance with which I consented to keep back my propositions in May, the rectitude and acknowledged necessity of such propositions, the fallen character of the minister, the universal sense of the abominable corruption of the government, the present state of parties, and all other circumstances of the time, I feel no small confidence of having to our requisition great and weighty names. The same motives which ought to produce an exertion in Middlesex, would, one should naturally expect, on the principles of ordinary prudence, stimulate the leaders of opposition to a similar exertion wherever they have influence. I transcribe you a draught of the pro-

posed requisition. I hope to be favoured with your early sentiments, as the time for action approaches. It has not the fashionable conciseness; but I feel convinced of the propriety of departing, at this particular period, from that custom. I am not without lively hopes that we shall be able to move the City of London. If Middlesex and London set a good example, there can be little doubt of other neighbouring counties; and I trust that Yorkshire will not forget its former honours in the cause of liberty.

“ I give the profits of my publication to the Freeholders Club of the county, and can rely upon their energies in the cause.

“ Although all this is imparted in confidence, and in a full reliance on your judgment and wisdom, it is certainly intended for such use as you may think fit to make of it.

“ With great respect and esteem,

“ I remain, dear Sir, truly yours,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In the month of October Major Cartwright wrote to the Dukes of Norfolk, Northumberland, Bedford, to Lord Dundas, to the Earls of St. Vincent and Stanhope, to Messrs. Grey, Fox, &c. &c., urging the necessity of calling another meeting of the county of Middlesex.

From most of these distinguished persons he received very flattering replies, but they seemed generally to have adopted an opinion that it was

not the time to agitate the question, and Mr. Fox in particular observed, that "to stir it at that time would not only be highly prejudicial to the interests of reform itself, but to every other measure that could be taken for the general good, in this critical and disastrous state of public affairs."

It is a little remarkable, that during so long a life as that of Major Cartwright, he never in the opinion of some persons, found out the happy moment for agitating a question which they acknowledged to be of the highest importance, and that whenever he proposed any public measure, the country should be either in a state too apathetic and prosperous, or else too critical and disastrous.

It would have saved him much time and trouble, if he could have concurred in the opinion expressed in a letter from his friend Lord Stanhope. "I must confess I have seen too much, not to be thoroughly sick of the old dull road of meetings of freeholders convened by the aristocracy. If the people be true to themselves they will inquire of the candidates for high offices, what it is they will solemnly pledge themselves to do for the people in case they should come into place. Every thing short of this is firing at sparrows."

" TO MR. COBBETT.

" October, 1805.

" SIR,

" It was only lately I became a reader of your Weekly Register. Your energy, your indignant

warmth against speculation, your abhorrence of political treachery, and your independent spirit, command my esteem. As a token of it, I beg to present you with a few essays written to serve our injured country; which has too long lain a bleeding prey to devouring factions, and which cannot be preserved, unless that public spirit and courage that were once the characteristics of England, can be revived.

“ Your efforts to that end deserve every praise. The national feeling in the case of Lord Melville, and the approbation of your writings, are good symptoms of convalescence in the public mind. We must not therefore despair.

“ Your obedient Servant,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In the year 1806 Major Cartwright published the second part of his “ *Ægis, or the Military Energies of the Constitution.*” The chief design of this work was to demonstrate the necessity of preparing and defending the country against the threatened invasion of Napoleon, the inadequacy of the volunteer system to that end, the unconstitutional tendency of standing armies, and the necessity of recurring for safety, from both foreign and domestic enemies, to that system of defence which was introduced into this country by the wisdom of our Saxon ancestors.

This publication has become extremely scarce, in consequence of the seizure which will be here-

after noticed, of several hundred copies, in the year 1812; and as, with the exception of the "Constitution Produced and Illustrated", it is the most detailed of his writings, some extracts from it will be here given, together with the dedication of the first part to Mr. Fox.

"To whom, in the present conflict for empire and existence, ought to be dedicated the 'Energies of England', but to him who, of all her sons, possesses a mind the most energetic? To whom shall be dedicated a proud effort to restore to full vigour and energy the military branch of the English Constitution, but to him who has the most comprehensive knowledge, and holds the purest principles of that constitution?"

"Although a dedicator, I am no flatterer. I have occasionally differed, and I may again differ from you in opinion on particular points. But if, when I were to be led to battle, I could have the choice of my general, it would not be him I should choose with whom I had never disagreed, but him in whom I found combined the greatest talents with the truest devotion to the cause in which I was to contend.

"When we are now to fight, not only for our fields and fire-sides, but for those laws and liberties which make an Englishman's field an Eden and his fire-side an earthly heaven, we cannot but turn our thoughts to one in whom, by a singular felicity, are united the most popular accomplishments.

for inspiring union, confidence, affectionate attachment, and public enthusiasm; and, at the same time, a grasp of intellect for counteracting the gigantic schemes of the ruler of France, and a robustness of mind for wielding the power of Britain.

“ Had, Sir, your ruling star gratified your early ambition with long possession of the reins of government, perhaps no work of real patriotism might ever have been dedicated to you. When a government has received a deep taint of impurity, it is an infected habitation from which those who, in the full fire of their passions, have ever made it their abode, do not, without a miracle, escape in moral health. What statesman, in our time, has tarried in that habitation and escaped without infection? Which of them can make the honest boast, that he restored purity to the government and energy to the constitution? Alas!—but, no: I will suppress the agitating emotions arising within me. From the hateful spectacle of freedom betrayed, a constitution trampled upon, and the wicked audacity of unbridled power, I will turn to that school of political adversity, in which I trust you have acquired a mastery over your passions, fortified your integrity, matured your judgment, and plumed your genius for bearing you aloft in the region of a luminous and generous policy which, at the same time that it maintains the prerogative and raises the glory of a sovereign, consults the rights, the interests, and the feelings of a free people.” *Dedication*, pp. v, vi, vii.

“ At the period when Francis I., according to Robertson, ‘ saved the whole kingdom by sacrificing one of its provinces’, a standing army had been introduced into France between ninety and one hundred years; and we are told, that ‘ in less than a century after their introduction, the nobles and their military tenants, though sometimes summoned to the field according to antient form, were considered as an incumbrance upon the troops with which they acted.’ Here was an early operation of ‘ the policy of the three last centuries.’ It is worth remark, that the same government which first introduced standing armies, was the first to experience their inadequacy to national defence, and to feel the necessity of calling, for that purpose, to their aid, the horrid expedient of desolating a fair province.” Vol. I. pp. 78, 79.

“ In what I shall say of standing armies, I certainly shall not utter a syllable with intent to give offence, either to the present army or to the present rulers of our country. The army did not form itself, neither was it the creation of our present sovereign, or of his ministers. They found it a part of the machinery of government, and they continued to use it as such.” Vol. I. p. 86.

“ Residing, in October, 1803, near the sea-port town of Boston, in the county of Lincoln, the merchants of which, at that time, were become somewhat uneasy, on account of depredations then making on the coast by a privateer or two of the enemy, I took occasion, after consulting a chart,

and taking a ride along the shore, to propose a select meeting of gentlemen, to take into consideration the defenceless state of the coast. At that meeting I addressed, to the gentlemen assembled, my sentiments; intended to apprise them of dangers to which they were exposed, and to which they seemed completely insensible; dangers infinitely beyond the loss they might sustain from a few lurking privateers; and to be myself secure against any misapprehension of what I should say, I spoke from a written paper; which paper, at the same time that the resolutions agreed upon by the meeting were transmitted to government, I enclosed in a letter to the proper minister. Vol. II. p. 33.

“ Whether in the foregoing speech I magnified the danger to be apprehended, or have now given any information to the enemy not before in his possession, may be seen by a publication purporting to be dated America, May 1804, and to come from the pen of Thomas Paine; which, from the internal evidence of it, I take to be his.

“ He tells us ‘ that the union of Belgium to France makes a new order of things’; that ‘ the plan of a descent upon England by gun-boats, began after the first peace with Austria, and the acquisition of Belgium by France. Before that acquisition France had no territory on the North Sea, and it is there the descent will be carried on.’

“ ‘ The English coast on the North Sea including the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lin-

colnshire*, is as level as a bowling-green, and approachable in every part for more than two hundred miles. The shore is a clean firm sand, where a flat-bottomed boat may row dry aground. The country-people use it as a race-ground, and for other sports when the tide is out. It is the weak and defenceless part of England, and it is impossible to make it otherwise. This, Thomas, is not true; but I believe that you have as little desire to see it properly defended, or the people, to be truly informed, as their own minister himself."

" 'The original plan, formed in the time of the Directory (but now much more extensive), was to build one thousand boats, each sixty feet long, to draw about two feet water, to carry a twenty-four or thirty-six pounder in the head, and a field-piece in the stern, to be run out as soon as they touched the ground†. Each boat was to carry a hundred men, making in the whole one hundred thousand, and to row with twenty or twenty-five oars on a side. Buonaparte was appointed to the command, and by an agreement between him and me, I was to accompany him.' " Vol. II. pp. 53, 54, 55.

" Alfred did not, in short, rely either upon de-

* Paine was born in Norfolk, and was afterwards an excise-man at Alford in Lincolnshire, near the coast.

† When at Southend in Essex, in the autumn of 1822, Major Cartwright saw and examined a foreign vessel of this description, which was said to have been built at this time by order of Buonaparte, and which became afterwards the property of a fisherman at Southend.

solation, upon a calculation of chances, or upon a navy for that defence of the state which it was the common duty of all his people to secure by courage and by their swords; notwithstanding his navy had done for him so much.

“ And can a navy, I ask, do more in respect of defence than was actually done by the navy of Alfred? In the English navy I was bred; towards that navy I have exerted my talents, such as they are; and, provident for the permanence of its glory, in conjunction with the honour and best interest of our nation, I can safely challenge, on evidence now before the public, the most passionate of its admirers, or the most faithful of its friends, for zeal in its service. But in respect of a navy towards national defence, I think, and I would act, precisely as Alfred thought and as Alfred acted.” Vol. II. p. 89.

“ I must not yet take my leave of the dangerous policy of relying upon a navy for defence against invasion. Perhaps the Christian world are already sufficiently disposed to contemplate Napoleon as one of those instruments in the hands of the Deity by which, from time to time, his dispensations for the punishment of nations, and for throwing down proud states and empires, are brought about; and he himself seems well disposed to propagate such a persuasion.” Vol. II. p. 101.

“ I cannot close this work without expressing my sentiments on a pamphlet entitled ‘ Thoughts

on the National Defence', which, not only from strong internal evidence, but from the information of the bookseller, I understand to come from the pen of the Duke of Richmond.

"It has ever been my opinion, that the defence of England cannot be understood, and consequently cannot be provided for, I mean by furnishing a right system, unless by one in whom the knowledge of a soldier is united with that of a constitutional statesman; for a mere soldier, while he fortified London might undermine our liberties, and while he preserved the soil might destroy the constitution of our country. It has, therefore, been with very great satisfaction, mixed a little with occasional dissent, that I have read and considered the valuable work I have mentioned, and upon which I shall now venture to give at some length an opinion.

"It has appeared to me that the defence of our land and of our liberties may go on hand in hand, and that in every step we take, our first consideration ought ever to be, the constitution, which I trust has not on this occasion suffered in my hands. So far as I had ventured in my first volume to lay down military principles, I felt indeed great confidence of the solidity of my ground, because I thought I had not gone out of my depth, and had bent the force of my mind to do justice to my subject; and it is with singular satisfaction that I find myself in no small degree supported by one so able to advise as the noble author of 'The Thoughts.'" Vol. II. pp. 119, 120.

Copies of this work, Major Cartwright sent to all the cabinet ministers, besides many other persons of note.

By a letter from Mr. Windham, it appears that gentleman entertained the same apprehensions with himself on the probability of invasion on those very coasts which were generally imagined to be safe from impending danger. The same opinion was also entertained by Mr. Arthur Young, as appears by a letter which will be found in Cobbett's Register, Vol. IX. p. 13.

Major Cartwright was as usual actively engaged in promoting a meeting of the county. In these endeavours he was much thwarted by the fears and scruples of the leading gentlemen of the opposition, with whom he had some communication during a short stay he made in town in order to attend the funeral of Lord Nelson.

The three following extracts are from Mr. Wyvill's letters at this time, and relate to the meeting proposed by Major Cartwright:—

“ Baker Street, January 26, 1806.

“ It is the very critical state of public affairs at present, and the very uncertain situation of our parliamentary friends, which induces me to remind you, that if you have not consulted them upon the measures alluded to, since our last conference, it is due to those friends, and may prevent disappointment to them, and incalculable disadvantage

to the common cause, that you pause, till you have consulted them, especially Mr. Fox and the Duke of Bedford, against whose wishes and judgment, if they are decidedly adverse to the agitation of that question at popular meetings at present, I conceive you would not wish to bring it forward at the next meeting of the county of Middlesex, but rather to confine yourself to *that ground* which Mr. Fox thought properly taken. At a subsequent meeting of the county, the measure alluded to might be agitated without inconvenience, and probably with their approbation."

•

" Baker Street, January 29, 1806.

" I am glad you have sent a copy of the requisition to Mr. Fox, though I still wish it had occurred to me sooner (that is, before the requisition was put in circulation), that it would probably have a good effect, if the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox were consulted, respecting the proposition of national defence.

" I shall conclude with assuring you, that no one estimates more highly than I do, your merits and services to the public in respect to the subject of defence; and that I look forward to the result of your labours at present with a confident expectation of success."

" Baker Street, February 6, 1806.

" From farther conversation since the 4th, I am more fully convinced that it will be best for

the cause of constitutional reform to suspend your proceedings for some time, even if the persons named in my letter of the 4th (who are all persons most deservedly esteemed for their attachment to that cause) should have given you their concurrence; but if my information on the 4th was correct, the prudence of admitting some delay is still more evident. How long prudence may require your intended meeting to be delayed, it is impossible at present to determine; but this, I think, may be hoped, that a more favourable opportunity than the present will occur in the course of the next twelve months; I mean, that in that time a change of political circumstances, and consequently of opinions, probably may take place, which will be advantageous to our views; and will afford a more fit juncture for the meditated attempt of the freeholders of Middlesex, to obtain for the taxed and unrepresented householders of the county, and if possible of the whole kingdom, redress of their grievance of non-representation.

“Such a measure will come with peculiar force and propriety from the freeholders of Middlesex; and I am only anxious that a more favourable time for bringing it forward should be patiently waited for, in order more effectually to secure the success of their attempt.”

The requisition alluded to was as follows :

" TO JOHN ANSLEY AND THOMAS SMITH, ESQRS.
" SHERIFF OF MIDDLESEX.

" February 17, 1806.

" GENTLEMEN,

" We the undersigned possessing freeholds in Middlesex, request you to call a meeting of the county, to consider of an address to the King, to thank his Majesty for having, by changing his ministers, opened to the people a prospect of counsels more congenial with the English constitution than for many years past they have experienced, as well as the hope of a redress of grievances: also, to express our confidence that the new members of his Majesty's executive Government will resort to the best energies of the constitution, for calling forth an impregnable strength at home, to put an end to every apprehension of invasion, and to ensure to us honourable and lasting peace."

" TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

" March 24, 1806.

" DEAR SIR,

" I see that your name and mine are on the same list, as *promoters* of the *fine arts*. As you are not likely to engage in any thing upon light grounds, I wish much to have some conversation with you and Mr. W. Smith, who takes an active part in the new institution, on the object of it.

" The fine arts are a family of much frailty; and unless we can give them a virtuous education

and a right direction, they will be full as likely to produce moral and political evil as good. By wise legislation, they may, as I conceive, be made powerful instruments of moral and political improvement. It is for these ends I wish to have the pleasure of conversing with you and Mr. W. Smith.

“ Meanwhile if you can find leisure to peruse the inclosed letters to the president of the institution, they will lead you into my views. I wish you likewise to have the goodness to put them for the same purpose into the hands of Mr. W. Smith. On the subject and on the mode of presenting them, I wish to consult you both. Addresses of such a nature from an entire stranger are sometimes disregarded or misinterpreted. As I have not the smallest knowledge of the personal character of the present Lord Dartmouth, I may perhaps be unnecessarily cautious. But I do not wish to be considered as some interested adventurer, or as a vain projector who has lost his wits. My aim is to have what I tender to the institution gravely and seriously considered. That I imagine could only be well done through a small committee, on whose judgment the directors of the institution could rely. My distance and my occupations allow me few opportunities of making calls in town, especially at an uncertainty. But if you could mention a time for my waiting upon you with not less than a couple of days’ notice, I would make a point of doing myself that pleasure.

“Should you favour me with an appointment not many days distant, the enclosed letters need not in the mean time be returned. The second letter is left without my signature, that I may, if necessary, add to it before delivery.”

“You will use your own discretion in communicating the letters to the other members of the institution, or other persons besides Mr. W. Smith, before I have the pleasure of seeing you. •

“With best regards, I am, &c. •

• “JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

Mr. Wilberforce's answer to this letter is in the same friendly strain, as all those received by Major Cartwright from that gentleman, whom no difference in political opinion seems to have prevented from doing justice to the character and motives of his early friend. •

The result of Major Cartwright's application on the subject of a plan for a temple of naval celebration, may be seen in an extract from the minutes of a meeting of directors, held the 22d of May, 1806:—

“Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be presented to Major Cartwright, and that he be informed that so extensive a plan as that proposed by him, does not appear to come within the views of the British Institution.”

On the 5th of June 1806, he announced his intention of withdrawing his name from the Whig

Club, in the following letter to the secretary, Mr. Clarkson :

“ SIR,

“ Finding that attending the Whig Club becomes inconvenient to me, I will be obliged to you to strike my name out of the list of its members ; as I think it better wholly to withdraw, than to keep on the list, and neglect the duties of attendance. From the principles on which the Whig Club is founded, I trust I never shall recede, and in my wish that it may be an instrument of diffusing a general love of liberty, you may be assured there is no abatement.

“ I remain, Sir, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

On the 17th of November a dinner-meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor, Major Cartwright in the chair, in which were given the following toasts : “ The King, Lords, and Commons ; may they mutually unite and co-operate in the adoption of all those measures that may be necessary for the restoration of the happiness and character, and for the preservation of the independence, of the country, in spite of the machinations of its enemies, domestic as well as foreign.” “ The Free and Independent Electors of Westminster.” “ The Independent Freeholders of Westminster.” “ The Naval and Military Defenders of our Country ;

may they be made to participate in all those rights which will render public liberty as dear to them as their military fame; and may their deeds prove hereafter as they have done heretofore, that we stand in no need of the introduction of foreign troops, an introduction so strictly forbidden by those laws which were bought by the best blood of our forefathers."

Several other meetings took place at this time, in favour of Mr. Paul's election, in which Major Cartwright was called to the chair, and received, as usual, the thanks of the meeting, for his upright and impartial conduct.

In November 1806, he was invited to stand for Boston, and though he was not in the end successful, for the same reasons which had always rendered him too honest a candidate for the present system of election, it appears that his doctrines met with some admirers even in a borough-town; for a friend residing in that place informs him, 22d of November 1806, "H——has had many applications for your three addresses to the electors, and intends, if you approve it, to publish them in a small pamphlet. If he does this, would there be any impropriety in his publishing them with Mr. Whitbread's letter to Sir Francis Burdett, and your admirable one to Mr. Whitbread?"

As the addresses above alluded to, are not written in the usual style of electioneering composition, they are here given with some trivial omissions*.

* They are published at length in "Cobbett's Register" for 1806.

" TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

" GENTLEMEN;

" Understanding it to be the point of honour, in a Boston election, for every candidate who stands a poll, to give five guineas a man to all such of the electors who vote for him, and will accept of money; but thinking such a custom would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, I venture, late as it is, to offer my services to represent you in Parliament, as I have nothing to fear from losing an election. My political sentiments being well known to you, I may, on the present occasion, be silent on that subject; but the supposed custom of your borough, sanctioned, as I apprehend, and as I lament, by the practice of all the boroughs in England, demands a few words. Although, Gentlemen, you should approve of what I say, it is not necessary you should accept of my services. You may know persons more entitled to your confidence; or I can, if you wish it, mention to you men more able, both in body and mind, to do you and their country service; men who, although they may not exceed me in inclination, have more strength, more learning, more knowledge, and more talent, than myself. They are men, Gentlemen, whose presence in our House of Commons is as much to be desired as that of Nelsons in our navy, or Stuarts in our army: and yet against whom, by the unhappy evil on which I have touched, the doors of Parliament are effec-

tually barred; while they are thrown unwittingly open to every son of rapine and violence, and to every unprincipled betrayer of his country, who, at a general election, drives into a borough-town properly prepared for stabbing the constitution. One word more on the subject of voting.—A vote is not in the nature of a chattel, that we can legally or morally sell, or can give away, for any private gain or gratification whatever; but is a sacred right held in trust, to be exercised only for the good of our country. Here, again, I must remind ye, that a vote at an election is what a verdict is on a jury. As we are bound to give this for the sole ends of private justice, so we are equally bound to give that for the sole ends of public justice. In one case we are sworn to give our own verdict, without favour or affection, according to the evidence; and in the other case we are sworn, that, for giving our vote, we have neither directly nor indirectly received, nor have the promise or expectation of any reward. And is not this equivalent to swearing, that, in giving our vote, we are solely guided by a sense of public justice, and, without favour or affection, prefer the men most entitled to preference; or, in other words, to our verdict, according to the evidence before us? Before we enter a jury-box, we may have formed our opinion of the cause; and, if I may use the expression, we may have promised our verdict to him who, in our judgment, has justice on his side. But such a promise is of course con-

ditional; for if it turn out that justice be clearly on the side of his adversary in the suit, we are then bound to give our verdict for that adversary. Our promise, in fact, was to do our duty, and to administer justice; and when given, we were under an error in respect to the party entitled to it. It is precisely the same in elections: we can only promise to perform our duty, and to do justice in disposing of our vote. It has been in order to guard you against imposition and error, that I have reasoned upon what I conceive to be the nature of election promises. God forbid I should wish to violate any engagement sanctioned by justice and by duty. If an elector cannot, at the same time, keep a hasty promise to an individual, and fulfil a sacred duty to his country, it must, in such a dilemma, be left to his own feelings and conscience to determine how to act.

“ I remain, Gentlemen,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ Sunday Evening, 2d November, 1806.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ When I yesterday returned from the poll, I was joined by flags and music. Such an expression of the approbation of well-wishers, I hope will not be repeated, as it has an appearance of uniting me with a town-party. The writer's business here is to make a practical effort in favour of public principle. Whether he shall or shall not

personally succeed in his present attempt, is a very inferior consideration. In making it he has higher views. He believes he is doing political good. Of the borough he has seen enough to persuade him, that, if as much pains were taken to inculcate public principle as town party, the best things in favour of the liberties of our country might be expected from the electors of Boston.

“ I remain, Gentlemen,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In December, 1806, Major Cartwright was seriously indisposed, from the effects of fatigue, and inattention to the necessary refreshment which so much exertion required; an inattention which often occasioned his family much uneasiness during his absences from home. On the 2d of this month he says,

“ All I had to do with the Middlesex election was to attend at Brentford to give my vote, and to write a few papers. At Mr. Paul's request I took the chair at two dinners and one meeting. The letter to Mr. Windham, and a second to Mr. Whitbread, will appear in Cobbett's Register. Finding myself very unwell, I sent for Dr. Hamilton, and must in future avoid fasting.”

Although the avowed object of this work is to give to the world a just idea of Major Cartwright's

unceasing labours, both public and private, yet a great difficulty has occurred during its progress. To detail these labours would be to fatigue the reader, whose interest in the subject cannot be expected to equal that of his immediate friends and relations. A man so willing to work for others, would not, of course, be suffered to remain idle; and we find by his correspondence, that he was continually consulted upon a variety of topics (not always political), to which he gave the most patient and unwearied attention. Much, therefore, it is necessary to pass over, which might tend to illustrate his character; and when any material circumstance demands attention, the occurrences of each year are noticed with as much brevity as possible.

In 1807 he wrote several small pieces on political subjects, no copies of which have been preserved. His letters to Whitbread, of which a correspondent says, "R. tells me your letters to Whitbread are in great request in Cornwall", were this year published in "Cobbett's Register." A parable of his composition at this time, which has been compared by a Greek scholar to a part of Plato's Seventh Book of the Republic, will be found in the Appendix, No. XII.

In the spring of the year he was called into Lincolnshire by business relative to his property there, and was once more put up for Boston, at the general election.

In an address to the electors, 28th of April, 1807, he says:—

“ As a nation, our affairs have nearly run to the worst that can be, short of ruin: but having at the critical juncture cast from us that national wickedness and reproach, the Slave Trade, let us hope, if we persevere in rectitude, and pursue reform according to the principles of our constitution, which accord with the laws of nature and of God, that by his providence we and our cause shall not be cast off; but that our affairs taking a happy turn, our liberties and our happiness may be replaced on their proper basis.

“ To be an humble instrument for such end, is all my ambition. Weak instruments in designs supported by public opinions, and the favour of Providence, may be employed with success in breaking down the loftiest barrier of *wrong*, and in building up the strongest bulwark of *right*.

“ Although, Gentlemen, I cannot insult you, nor dishonour myself by unworthy acts or arts for securing an election, I have thought it right to canvass, because it is fit that the electors should have an opportunity of taking pledges of candidates for a faithful performance of duty in case of becoming representatives.

“ On the nature of a canvass you already know my sentiments. I shall therefore not feel myself entitled to any vote unless at the time of polling the party can then give it with a perfect conscious-

ness of fulfilling to his country the sacred duty of an elector, in the choice of those who are to be the law-makers and guardians of the liberties of the nation.

“ The witty Dr. South being of opinion, that in covetousness there is much sin, tells the miser in one of his sermons, that *‘tis bad economy to be damned to save charges.*’ Now it is to be observed, that the money for which the miser runs this risk, *he really gets* ; whereas I have heard of electors who, after risking all the consequences of doing wrong, are not likely to get the promised reward.

“ That you, on whomsoever your choice of representatives may at any time fall, may on all occasions secure to yourselves by your conduct, not only the inward satisfaction, but the praise of both integrity and wisdom, is the sincere prayer of, Gentlemen,

“ Your friend and well wisher,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

By a letter written during this election, he does not seem to have buoyed himself with any false hopes on the occasion, for he says :—

“ The election here begins on Tuesday. I am as quiet as if nothing were going on. Betts run that I shall have ten votes. The husband of Mr. Wilberforce’s sister has published a pamphlet entitled ‘ The Dangers of the Country ’, which begins, ‘ We may be conquered by France ’, &c. There are

arguments to show we are not prepared for defence, and he seems strongly to recommend general arming, but professes not to understand the detail. Some of his arguments are very strong. His 'War in Disguise', is a very popular work. The present is written with great ability. I have only looked into this work, but have not seen any difficulty which the system of the 'Ægis' does not go directly to remove. Should Napoleon prove master of Poland, which is highly probable, our ministers must look about them on the subject of defence.

"I have received information from good authority, that farther peculations of public money have been discovered by means of the enquiries of the commissioners.

"In one, of a sum of £20,000; and an intimate friend of Mr. Pitt, who was also an acquaintance of my own, is the person criminated."

" 23d April, 1807.

"I shall not defend Lord Howick, but I do not find that those who speak against him, have any objection to the King's signing a paper requiring a written pledge, that they will never advise him contrary to his opinion of what is right.

"If this is to be tolerated, nothing more is necessary to the King's being absolute. This straining at gnats and swallowing of camels does not argue much independency of mind, or freedom of thought.

“ Those who have wished to be the friends of Lord Howick have more reason than his enemies to find fault with him, and can easily pick holes in his coat ; but for every bodkin-hole to be discovered in it, a pocket-hole may be found in the coats of those who have succeeded him and his party.

“ *Conscience* is a good thing—but the same conscience which refuses to make it lawful for half a dozen or half a hundred of Roman Catholics to rise to commands on the staff, to be *masters general of the ordnance* or *commanders-in-chief*, to which they could never rise by seniority, nor enjoy otherwise than by the King’s express appointment, once consented to make the Roman Catholic the established religion of Canada, and gave assent to the Act of Parliament for so doing. So much for *conscience!!!* As my old friend John Jebb used to say, ‘ Don’t tell me of a moderate man, he is always a rascal.’ So I begin to think this same Mr. Conscience is no better than he should be.”

“ 29th April, 1807.

“ We are here in the midst of an election contest, in which I am a candidate and sure to lose my election, though highly praised by several who vote against me. Mr. Langton has had the goodness to favour me with his presence. Mr. Maddocks has lost many votes by not coming sooner, and by the old trick of setting up the cry of ‘ No Popery.’

“ Should Sir R. Heron stand for Lincolnshire, I

shall probably vote for him. I send you the answer from the author of 'The Dangers of the Country.'” . .

In this answer, that gentleman* (Mr. Stephens) expresses his gratification, that one so well known as Major Cartwright for political information, and who has travelled the same road, thinks so well of his views; and that he himself should have recommended the same or similar principles in the work before him, viz. “England’s *Ægis*.”

The election at Boston terminated by Major Cartwright’s having fifty-nine votes, forty of which were plumpers: and when it is considered that every one of his voters lost the usual *douceur*, it is only matter of surprise that so many disinterested persons should be found in the borough. Probably few others in the kingdom could have furnished a greater number.

In the year 1807 an important change took place in the administration; those ministers who belonged to that set of public men usually denominated whigs, were obliged to give way to a more powerful party, who came into office on the 25th of March.

Major Cartwright was no less indefatigable in recommending his systems of defence to the new ministers, than he had been to those who preceded them; and accordingly instructed his publisher (Mr., now Sir R. Phillips) to send copies of “The *Ægis*” to the following noblemen and gentlemen;

viz. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Lord Camden, Lord Eldon, Earl of Westmoreland, Duke of Portland, Lord Mulgrave, Earl of Chatham, Earl Bathurst, Lord Hawkesbury, "Lord Castlereagh, The Right Honourable G. Canning, and The Right Honourable S. Perceval*.

Those sent to Generals Murray, Cartwright and Gwynn, were accompanied with a note to this effect :

“ The author of ‘ The Ægis ’ requests General as a military officer of rank in the confidence of the King, to accept a copy of that work, written in the hope, that, in the hour of trial, the throne may be preserved to his Majesty, and the constitution to his people.”

“ TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HAWKESBURY.

“ Storrington, 10th July, 1807.

“ MY LORD,

“ Half a century ago your father made a most admirable beginning towards a restoration of the military branch of the constitution. In ‘ England’s Ægis ’, which the author trusts his publisher has presented to your Lordship, he believes it is

* Though fearful of inserting any circumstance in these Memoirs solely from memory or report, the writer cannot avoid remarking, that about this time she was informed by a friend, that one of the then ministers, in speaking of ‘ The Ægis ’, had declared it to contain so many valuable suggestions on the article of defence, that, if it had not been for his known *intractability*, the author would have been consulted by the administration.

shewn how that necessary work may be completed.. :

“Possibly, my Lord, he might have laboured to little purpose, had not another instructor arisen, whose admonitions, if we would shun the fate of other nations, must not be disregarded;

“Submitting these matters to your serious investigation, I have the honour to be, &c.

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

Major Cartwright having drawn up the schedules of two bills, one for arming the people, and the other for their more complete representation in Parliament, was extremely anxious, during the session of 1808, to have them discussed in the House, and had flattered himself that his friend Sir Francis Burdett would bring the subject forward. That gentleman, from indisposition, and probably from a conviction, also, that he should meet with no support, suffered the session to pass, much to the dissatisfaction of the zealous Major, who had bestowed, on the framing of these bills, six months' incessant labour and application. Writing on this subject to Lord Stanhope, 29th May, 1808, he tells him he had got back the papers from the friend to whom they were entrusted, and thus continues:—“Not being acquainted with Lord Folkestone, I have submitted to Cobbett, whether he should mention the subject to his lordship; but time is flying; the session draws near its conclusion; before another, it is probable the King

of Sweden may cease to reign, Spain may be completely French, Turkey partitioned, and Napoleon in readiness to direct, to the destruction of this country, all his immensity of means.

“Stand in the gap, my good Lord, whether any thing can or cannot be done in the Commons. Fashion the bills to your own liking; make a stand in the House of Lords, and let us call to this great object the public attention.—Cobbett’s paper has a circulation and authority which nothing of the kind ever had.—Suspend your ship-building for a few days, and prevent the vessel of State from sinking.”

Whatever might be the extent of his disappointment on this occasion, cooler reflection probably induced him to acquiesce in the reasons given by Sir Francis Burdett, in a kind letter explanatory of his apparent neglect; for on the 13th of June, Major Cartwright says, “You had made me angry, and I suppose I made you so in return. This can do the public no good; we must each work in his own way.”—It does not appear that the friendly intercourse subsisting between them was suspended by this circumstance; but candour obliges us to confess (as in the case of Mr. Wyvill’s taking the chair at a proposed dinner, mentioned in a subsequent place,) that he was too apt to exact a diligence and zeal equal to his own, without making sufficient allowances for the illness, business, or pursuits of others. In

fact, it cannot be denied, that the nearer his political friends approached the point which he considered indispensable, the greater was his desire that they should leave nothing undone. That this slight species of intolerance arose solely from the excess of his anxiety for the public weal, and not from conceit in his own judgment, is sufficiently apparent from the very letter just quoted, in which he gives Lord Stanhope the permission of fashioning the bills to his own liking, and of introducing them in any way most agreeable to himself. In fact, if he could have found others willing to execute the work, he would have been always satisfied with the office of prompter.

A letter, dated the 13th June in this year, to Mr. W. Smith, M.P. for Norwich, still farther explains the cause of what might, as he conceived, be styled pertinacity in his conduct, when he says, "You see how incorrigible I am: if you can furnish me with a few copies of Thursday's votes, containing my petition, you will oblige me. So far as their contents may go, they will be held cheap enough, I doubt not; and therefore there will be no difficulty in complying with my request. If there were any other objects than those to which I point, that could do any good, I might be less pertinacious. I confess I see no good to be done by any other means—certainly not by coalitions or by ministries in which the Whigs are to have a share. We have had them both, and what was

the benefit? • Reformation, and a restored constitution we have not had.

“ If the Whig leaders would for a season forget that ignis fatuus expediency* which for half a century past has led them into nothing but deserts and quagmires, and seek the only means of strength, public confidence, by really deserving it, they might do their country great good, even yet. But if their policy be too refined for such home-spun conduct, they never will do any good for the public, and will only accelerate the subjugation of England.”

The affairs of Spain at this period assumed an aspect which could not but interest every friend to freedom.

That noble country so long sunk in sloth and apathy, the faithful attendants of despotism and superstition, now seemed suddenly to awake from the trance, and to shew signs of a generous spirit worthy of that antient asserter of the rights of the Cortes, the gallant and martyred Padilla.

That these systems had no better effect than that of restoring her antient dynasty, whose bigotted tyrant still triumphs over the patriots of that unhappy land, must be matter of unceasing

* On another occasion when recommending expediency, Major Cartwright says, “ By expediency I mean a mere preference of the wisest among various just means, for accomplishing a right end or object.”

regret to the friends of humanity. Had the advice of one of her most sincere and disinterested friends been at that time implicitly followed, her situation might not now be so deplorable; but be that as it may, it is desirable to shew in what that advice consisted, by inserting a letter to one of the Spanish deputies then in England. That Spain should a second time fall into a state of almost hopeless slavery, was one of the last and most cruel disappointments which this benevolent friend of mankind had to encounter. It clouded with regret the last few months of his existence, but HE NEVER DESPAIRED, still implicitly believing that Providence would assist the cause of freedom in Spain, and that "virtuous instruments" might yet arise to effect her deliverance.

•

“ TO THE VISCOUNT MATEROSA,

“ Enfield, June 15, 1808.

“ MY LORD, •

“ The English gentleman by whom you are now addressed, feeling the present cause of your nation to be the cause of the human race, has the honour to offer you his sentiments; and fortunate shall he esteem himself, should his opinions coincide with your own.

“ It should seem to be immaterial whether a Bourbon or a Buonaparte shall despotically govern Spain; but whether the Spanish liberties shall or shall not be recovered, is not immaterial. The independence and the dignity which are so conge-

nial to the Spanish character, and so necessary to the well-being and glory of any state, Spain cannot but desire.

“ Should not *these* be the objects at which her leaders aim, they ought to consider, whether any others can be worth the blood that must flow in the struggle.

“ At present, my Lord, those whom you represent in the northern parts of Spain, appear in the character of insurgents, or at the best, as the part of a people who are faithful in what they esteem their loyalty, and who are however in resistance against one who has furnished himself with a written formal title to sovereignty, and is likewise sovereign *de facto*, having also a very powerful army to back his pretensions.

“ I know not how far notions of attachment to the kings of Spain and Portugal, and to their families may have an influence, but true loyalty is an adherence to those fundamental and natural laws of society, by which the rights of nations are preserved, and their happiness promoted.

“ In this view of the subject, and circumstanced as Spain and Portugal now are, the best counsel that can be given seems to be, that the Asturias, with the adjacent parts, as far as can instantly be done, should declare themselves an independent state, and form alliance with England.

“ Conceiving every moment of your time employed in important business, the writer will endeavour to avoid giving you unnecessary trouble,

and will put his sentiments in distinct propositions as follow :: namely—

“ 1. The new state might assume the title of the Commonwealth of the Iberian States. Such an appellation would be consistent with a re-union of Portugal with Spain, without humiliation on the part of the former.

“ 2. The constitution adopted to contain the form of the legislature and the grand essentials of free government, namely—What immediately keeps the sword in the hand of the people ; what gives them a substantial representation in the legislature ; what provides that the citizen shall at all times have complete security for his person against all species of arbitrary imprisonment ; and subjects him to confinement only when convicted of crime by due course of law ; what secures free speaking with free writing, and publishing as an inherent and common right ; nothing in writing or speaking being punishable, unless false, malicious, and wicked, or contrary to decency : besides all which, care should be taken for establishing a correct administration of justice by known law, with trial for property, character, liberty, and life, by a jury of equals : and the constitution ought explicitly to declare, that the legislature is not competent to alter the same without the consent of the people duly expressed ; to which end it should be made necessary that any desired alteration should in the first instance be fully stated in the legislature ; that it should in the next place be referred in writing to

the people, and thrice publicly read at the time of divine service in every place of worship, with intervals of seven days, and prior to the next annual election of the Cortes ; at which election the people in their several districts should have a right to instruct their representatives how to vote upon the question.

“ 3. The constitution to declare that all such parts of antient Iberia as should accede to the union, should equally partake of its benefits.

“ 4. Perhaps the legislature might with advantage consist of an assembly of representatives to be called the Cortes, a senate of Grandees, and a Regent.

“ 5. The senate to be in number one-fourth of the Cortes, both at first and in all time to come. To be elected by the Cortes from among persons of rank with considerable estates, for three years.

“ 6. The Regent to be elected once in five years by the senate and an equal number of the Cortes ; namely, one-fourth of them—in order that the grandees, having rivals, might be stimulated to excel in knowledge, talents and virtue, the regency being open to any gentleman not under thirty years of age.

“ 7. The Regent to have the whole executive government, but no voice in legislation.

“ 8. The Regent to appoint his own executive council of state, or junta, to consist of seven secretaries of state, each being the organ for commanding and controuling a department of the state,

with responsibility in such secretaries, respectively for every public act of the regent.

“ 9. The department to be as follows :—

“ I. Religion, morals and education.

“ II. Law and domestic administration.

“ III. Defence and land war.

“ IV. Colonies and naval war.

“ V. Foreign relations.

“ VI. Finance.

“ VII. Arts, literature, and public emulation.

The senior member of the junta to preside, and in case of equality, to have a casting vote.

“ 10. No member of the junta to hold any other, or to exercise any religious, judicial, military, naval, or fiscal function, otherwise than as aforesaid, in being the organ of the regent for command and controul, for keeping all agents of government to their duty.

“ 11. All members of the junta to have seats in the legislature, with liberty of speech, but no vote. A right also to propose laws which had previously received the approbation of the junta in council, exclusive (in this case) of the regent: the same right of proposing laws to belong alike to every member of the legislature.

“ 12. The legislature alone to authorize the commencement or the declaration of war; and no treaty of peace to have validity until ratified by their authority.

“ 13. The territory to be divided and sub-di-

vided on principles equally applicable to military, civil, and judicial administration.

“ 14. The fundamental division of the territory to be made on principles of *population*, and the district enclosed furnish for defence of the state a brigade of armed population or militia, to include all males from fifteen to sixty-one years of age, those under eighteen being only cadets receiving their military education, and those above fifty-eight exempt from field-service, except on emergencies. The intermediate population being divided into classes ; each class extending to five years of life, with regulations for annually adjusting the classes, and perfecting the corps formed out of them ; so as always to have troops equally fit for the most active services, and a regular gradation of others less active and more experienced.

“ 15. Every district which so furnishes a brigade to the militia, to return a member to the Cortes by an annual election. The representatives to be chosen by the meeting of families who bear arms and pay taxes to the state. The representative to have a qualification in landed property. And every such district to have its magistracy for administering justice, and keeping the militia to their duty.

“ 16. The said fundamental divisions of the territory to be sub-divided for convenience of business, as well as several of them added together for constituting military districts, on principles of

space and according to local circumstances, within each of which military districts the militia should be a powerful army.

“ 17. The militia to be officered by election of the masters of families in each fundamental division of territory, and hold his commission for five years. Officers to have qualifications in property: the superior officers in land only.

“ 18. The taxes to be given and granted by the Cortes exclusively.

“ 19. Every public accountant to have in his office a table of the books kept in the same: this table and all the said books to be open to the inspection of a standing committee of the Cortes on a certain day in every week, from noon to night.

“ 20. All public accountants to keep their books in the manner of merchants, to strike a balance every week, and within a week after the expiration of every year to strike the annual balance.

“ 21. A regular army to have no established existence, but to depend for that, as well as for its strength, on an annual vote of the legislature, or rather of the Cortes, on whom it must depend for its pay.

“ 22. The army and navy commissions to be granted at the advice of the respective secretaries, who should countersign them and be responsible for their advice. Commissions given by commanders-in-chief abroad, to run in the same form of words as others, on a presumption that the secretary would advise, and the regent grant the ap-

pointment, the commander's signature being only in nature and manner as a countersigning. On the officer's return home, such commission to be no longer valid, until signed by the regent and countersigned by the secretary.

" 23. All children whose parents are unable to educate them at their own expense, shall be taught to read their native tongue at the expense of the public.

" 24. The Regent to be patron of an institution for promoting the fine arts and literature, as well as for exciting emulation in whatever should exalt the reputation of the state.

" Such, my Lord, are the suggestions which the writer offers to your consideration.

" Presuming that arms are among the wants of your countrymen, the writer can furnish your Lordship, if acceptable, with a specimen of a weapon of a new invention, which is cheap, easily executed by country workmen, and, consequently, multiplied with great rapidity. Although not a fire-arm, it is superior to the bayonet, and during a scarcity of musquets, might even serve to arm whole corps in the second line of an army for charging, whenever the first line should be put in disorder. It is particularly well adapted for arming the most aged corps, as guardians of the public peace; and the use of it is extremely easy.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 18th of June, 1808, a petition from Major Cartwright to the House of Lords, was presented by Earl Stanhope, in which he declared the local militia bill, then before the House, to be a defective system of defence*, and inconsistent with that constitution on which depend life, liberty, and property.

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ 20th June, 1808.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ On Saturday I had the pleasure to present your petition to the Lords; and in order to shew them my approbation, I read the whole very loudly and distinctly myself. They wished not to receive it, because it was not addressed to the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*; but I got it received, notwithstanding.

“ I am, dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

“ STANHOPE.”

* “ The general objection was, that the bill did not go far enough; and upon this ground a petition was presented against it by Major Cartwright. That venerable patriot—never was man more rightfully entitled to the honourable appellation—had, some years ago, published a plan for arming the people, as being a system naturally arising out of the principles of the *posse comitatus*, deducible from our common law, an integral part of our constitution, coeval with and essential to our liberties. To that system we shall come, whenever this country is blessed with an enlightened ministry: it will relieve us from the burthen of a standing army; it will unite the character of the soldier and the citizen, each liable to be degraded when they exist apart; and it will for ever secure us against even the threat of an invasion.”—*Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1808, p. 90.

In July, this year, Major Cartwright had it much at heart to convene a public meeting on the relative affairs of Spain and England, and applied to many persons of rank and consideration to sign a requisition to the sheriffs for that purpose; but though, "on abstract principles, they concurred in the measure, many of them thought it was not exactly the time in which such a subject should be brought forward."

It appears, however, by a letter dated 25th August, that Lord Holland, as far at least as related to the affairs of Spain, approved of the meeting, and signified his intention of being present; at the same time his lordship declared, that if prevented attending, he should take some step to let that approbation be made public.

This meeting took place on the 30th of August, as appears from the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1808, Part II. page 176.

"A meeting of the freeholders of this county (Middlesex) was held at the Mermaid, Hackney. Major Cartwright, after a speech, in which he expatiated upon the great exertions of the people of Spain, the situation of which country, in many circumstances, he contended, strongly resembled that of Great Britain; in which he particularly dwelt upon the degraded situation of the representatives of that people, by the constitution of Buonaparte, moved the following resolutions, which were carried without opposition, excepting a slight amendment to the third,

proposed by Mr. Mellish, and readily acquiesced in by the honourable mover :

“ 1. That for aiding the Spanish patriots, the King is entitled to the gratitude of mankind.

“ 2. That a people who will fight for their liberties, are alone worthy of the friendship of a free nation.

“ 3. That to have found such allies, is an event peculiarly gratifying.

“ 4. That we ardently desire to see re-established in Spain the ancient government of a King, and an independent Cortes, so balanced as to secure their national liberties. .

“ 5. That in the grand example of Spain is seen how a nation is to be defended, and how Europe is to be delivered.

“ 6. That what has been lost to the sacred cause of human liberty, by the levity, the vices, and excesses of France, since from that she departed, we trust may be regained by the gravity, the virtues, and the moderation of Spain.”

“ TO THE VISCOUNT MATEROSA.

“ 15th September, 1808.

“ MY LORD,

“ An extraordinary change having taken place in the affairs of Spain since I first did myself the honour to offer you my sentiments, I am induced to communicate to you the contents of certain papers in my possession which might be useful to your country. At the period alluded to, namely,

the middle of June, an early union of the Spanish provinces was more to be hoped for than expected. At present an union both of sentiment and action seems to prevail. Our public journals have told us of a general junta composed of deputies from other juntas assembling at Lugo, and we have had various intimations of a desire, on the part of the Spanish patriots, to convene a general Cortes.

“ At the same time, the success of the patriotic arms over the French, shewing what is practicable to men inspired by a love of their country, affords the best hopes ; but, my Lord, France, by the latest accounts, was in the possession of the country beyond the Ebro, and, consequently, of the Pyrennean passes ; and there seems reason for believing, that great efforts will yet be made for the subjugation of Spain by her powerful foe.

“ It appears sufficiently evident that when Napoleon first seized the Spanish crown, he had no expectation of a serious resistance being made to those armies which he had previously introduced into the country ; or he would not have had his forces divided as they were, and incapable of mutual support. The loss of some of his armies is therefore in a great degree to be attributed to his having been in effect taken by surprise. This error he will of course correct, and in future act in Spain as he has been accustomed to do in other countries, when he looked for formidable opposition. Having the passes, he will pour armies into Spain, with which he will act upon one line of operation, until

he make himself master of positions, from whence he can give support to his detachments.

“ Although the late achievements of your countrymen have done them the highest honour, and have sufficiently proved what is practicable to a nation standing on its defence against invading armies, yet the hasty enrolments and all the warfare thereupon dependent, must have been too unsystematic for durably sustaining the conflict. Spain must likewise take to her aid, the utmost regularity of system. . . .

“ The writer’s general ideas on this subject will be found in the work which you did him the honour to accept, and to guard against a reverse, he is anxious that Spain should be in possession of what he considers a right plan of defence.

“ Such a system once introduced, the task of defence would be thenceforth universally understood, simple in the execution, and effected with the smallest possible share of calamity, as well as with the utmost economy of blood and treasure ; but unsystematic defence must be always attended with danger, and its success will be more doubtful, if the people shall not be convinced that they are fighting for real national liberty, as well as for mere independence from the domination of another government.

“ But though the principle of defence will be found in the work alluded to, between such a mere outline as will be found in ‘ England’s *Ægis*’, and a complete practical plan, with all its minutiae

of detail, there is as wide a difference as between the plan of a fortress on paper and the fortress itself.

“ It is this consideration, my Lord, which has induced the writer again to address you. Arms in the hands of free men, and a constitution founded on political liberty, are the fundamentals of defence. In extreme cases they can alone be depended on. And, considering that Spain is in contact with the very soil and territory of France, along a line of about 300 English miles, if any nation ever stood in need of the very best means of security, Spain is that nation.

“ The fundamentals just mentioned refer to the most vital branches of human government. The militia, or the martial branch of a government, is first in the order of nature, and of the most importance.”

“ The means of security to a nation being its arms and laws, or its sword and its parchments, it is soon seen how these are to be classed. Should a crafty ruler embezzle the parchments, still, provided the sword remain in the hands of the people, there will be no danger. An armed people have but to demand a restoration of the stolen securities, but if the ruler can so far lull the people to sleep, as to secure the sword, the case will be very different. He will then be sure to seize on the parchments also; and how shall they, in that case, be reclaimed ?

“ The object of a prince in monopolizing to

himself the arms, is, that he may become master of the laws of the state, and the property of the people. His policy is thenceforward to reward out of that property mercenary soldiers, mercenary courtiers, and all other servile instruments of his despotism, that is, to make the people pay for their own chains.

“ Thus, it is apparent how much depends on a rightly-constituted militia. If you would form a free state, and could take your measures in orderly succession, the militia is the first step—it is the grand fundamental. For Spain, it is fortunate that the same means to which she ought to resort for the preservation of her independence against France, are the best and only true means of securing hereafter her political liberty.

“ In publishing his ‘England’s Ægis’, the writer hoped to stimulate some virtuous legislator of his own country to frame and to propose in detail, such a system of defence as that of which he there sketched the outline. And when after waiting in vain for several years, he felt impelled to undertake the work himself, he at first imagined that in consequence of his mind being familiar with all the principles, and from his having already traced an outline, the task would be easy; yet when he sat down to the undertaking, he found it much more arduous than he had expected, and in truth a work of great labour, how little soever that may be now thought by those who read it.

“ Such a work, however, he has now by him in three separate manuscripts, in the form of three laws intended to have been proposed last session in the English Parliament. In that expectation, however, after being kept some months in suspense he has been disappointed, and at present he is uncertain when the measure will take place.

“ Wherever there is any force under the denomination of a militia, there are certain laws which may be called its system ; but all modern militias exhibit only a perversion of ancient institutions, when all Europe was a collection of armed nations ; and the militia of the United States of America is at present too defective to become a model.

“ These manuscripts are at your service, either to peruse or to copy for the use of your country ; and should explanations be wanting, the writer may be commanded in any way publicly or privately, as may suit your Lordship’s situation and business in England ; as he is well aware you may have reason for being circumspect.

“ The three manuscripts are all parts of the same system, although one of them is confined to elections of the representative part of the legislature, for it must never be forgotten, that the very essence and vitality of defence is the liberty of the people ; the want of which liberty on the Continent has been the true secret of the triumphs of France.

“ It is feared that the condition of Spain for a long time past, precluding discussion and political light, has been extremely unfavourable to liberty,

and that there is little of what, in *England*, we call public opinion. Under these circumstances, every thing must depend on a few. May those few prove sufficiently enlightened and virtuous to save their country!

“ The cultivation of a free press ought to be particularly attended to.

“ Possibly too much must not be attempted at first. But every thing seems to favour the introduction of a militia on a right model.

“ If a meeting of a national Cortes be shortly expected, such a system as that, which the writer recommends might be adopted, although any part of the country should be at the time the seat of war; and it is one of the merits of this system that, in any individual province not immediately the seat of war, it could be carried into execution in full perfection, so that in the rear of the main defensive armies a military power may be created, which must very shortly furnish the means of effectually stemming the tide of invasion, and finally triumphing over the most powerful invader.

“ By your very flattering letter of the 18th of July, I was made happy in the belief, that the expression of my good wishes towards your country had not proved unacceptable. With the warmest wishes that your labours in her service may be successful,

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

The system of defence recommended in "England's Ægis", was so highly approved of by one of the most distinguished of the Spanish patriots, who, both at this period and a subsequent one, held a high situation in the state, that he wrote a work in his own language entitled "The Military Constitution of Spain", formed upon the principles of Major Cartwright.

But unfortunately this work appeared during the late disastrous revolution, and at a time when the organization of such a system was rendered impossible by a variety of untoward circumstances.

Had it been adopted in the year 1808, when the patriots of Spain were possessed of greater facilities, and when even the prejudices of the nation were in their favour, it is impossible to say how beneficial the consequences might have proved in that unhappy country.

" TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

" 19th November, 1808.

" MY LORD,

" Agreeably to your desire, I return the letter of Mr. Whitbread* which your Grace has done me the honour to communicate. I have long, my Lord, had so much esteem for the character and talents of that gentleman, that I cannot differ from him

* Though differing in opinion with Major Cartwright, Mr. Whitbread in this letter expressed the highest esteem for his talents, character and exertions.

in political opinion, without feeling much pain ; because on such occasions I am disappointed in wishes that are near my heart. . . .

“ As Mr. Whitbread alludes to my modes of reasoning and acting, his observations call for a few remarks in reply. In common with us both, your Grace will perceive that our reasonings turn on the importance and effect of *public opinion*, and on what is a man's political duty in respect thereof: as far, then, as public opinion is defective or erroneous, it should seem to be the first of all the political duties of a patriot, whether in or out of Parliament, diligently and intrepidly to labour for its correction and the manifestation of truth.

“ Surely, my Lord, it is for those alone whose objects are vicious, and whose means are corrupt and base, to be afraid of making their efforts until they have ‘conviction’ they shall succeed. Such a fear does not become those who have no consciousness but that of rectitude. In the best sense of the word, such men are ‘sure’ of success*.

* The reader may be interested in observing how exactly Major Cartwright's opinion on this subject coincided with that of Lord Charlemont: “As far as my experience goes,” says that enlightened nobleman, “this maxim appears to me infallible, that every measure intrinsically just and good will finally be carried by virtuous and steady perseverance. In the pursuit of what is salutary and right, let no patriot be discouraged by defeat, since though repeated efforts may prove ineffectual, the time will come when the labours of the virtuous few will finally succeed against all the efforts of interested majorities ; when a coincidence of favourable circumstances will conspire with the justice and utility of the measure, and beyond the reach of human foresight carry into execution

They are sure of that self-approbation which of all triumphs is the highest. And, my Lord, if the liberties of our country are ever to be recovered, it must unquestionably be by such men steadily and perseveringly acting upon such principles in contempt of usurped power, and unmoved even by repeated defeats. In such a cause, defeat is so far from disgrace and a cause of weakness, that men of invulnerable private characters are sure to rise from every defeat with new strength; because they have proved their fidelity and have caused DISCUSSION, which, when they do not deviate into faction, is the food, the soul of their cause.

“I am by no means insensible (as may sometimes be imputed to me) of the high value of *expediency*; but long experience and observation have taught me that this same expediency is a suspicious counsellor. He is an excellent servant, but the worst of masters. If I be, on questions touching the vital interests of my country, to err, be it, in God’s name, on that side which shall not cause mine enemy to sneer at, nor my friend to doubt, my principles!

“With regard to not attempting political measures until ‘sure’ of success, or at least until we

even that which by the weak and timid was deemed impossible. Nil desperandum is a maxim in patriotism which I solemnly recommend to the observance of my children. Let them always endeavour after what is right, how difficult soever it may appear of attainment, since though they should not live to witness success, they will lay a foundation for the success of their survivors.”—*Hardy’s Life of Lord Charlemont*, Vol. I. p. 361.

have a 'conviction' that we cannot miscarry, nothing, I think, can be more clear, than that this doctrine is infinitely more applicable to efforts against ministers, than to attempts for recovering those rights which are fundamental and indispensable; and yet when ministers are to be attacked, we do not observe all this refinement of expediency, this excess of scrupulousness, this demand of a 'conviction' that victory will follow the attack, nor this extreme care to be 'sure' of carrying a proposition before the moving of it must be ventured upon.

"For bringing the minister of the day into disesteem with the nation, we see all oppositions equally alert; and the venal newspapers incessantly appealing to the people, with question after question on the comparative merits of the inns and the outs; while the leaders themselves as industriously bring on motion upon motion, and measure upon measure, discussion upon discussion, within the walls of Parliament, where they must generally have a conviction that they want strength and are even 'sure' they shall not succeed.

"On the newspaper and parliamentary theatres, the contending parties can manage their contests in their own way; satisfied, as it should seem, if they can but amuse the people and divert them from thinking or acting for themselves. If, however, both sides be not at bottom equally hostile to true freedom, equally supporters of our borough ruin, if there be any real difference between the professing

whig champions of liberty, and the known and hated instruments of despotism, why in the name of wonder, this invariable and ominous agreement between the two, in always dreading meetings of the people, wherein liberty is but even *likely* to become a subject of discussion! I speak, my Lord, from painful experience. I know what has been attempted, and I know what has been stifled in different parts of the kingdom. I have in particular a lively recollection of what has happened within the last four years in Middlesex.

* * * * *

“ In truth, my Lord, I am as much surprised as I am afflicted, at the reluctance that has appeared to stand forward on the most important occasion, at the hazard of the most important question which Englishmen can be called on to discuss; and I trust that both your Grace and your friend will take what I have now said into consideration, when I shall confidently hope that the cause of liberty now at issue, will neither want your previous countenance nor your subsequent support.

“ I am, with much respect, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ London, November 21, 1808.

“ Having lost the post on Saturday, I can now inform your Grace that the names to our requisition exceed an hundred, and that there is a confident expectation of increasing them to three or four times that number.”

Being anxious to see his old friend Mr. Wyvill in the chair, at a meeting proposed to take place in the ensuing February, Major Cartwright wrote to that gentleman on the subject. In reply to his application, Mr. Wyvill, though expressing great pleasure in the intended meeting, and confidence in its success, begged to decline his proposal on the score of age and infirmities.

To this excuse his ardent correspondent thus replies :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I should be very deficient indeed in the materials necessary to a reformer, to desist from the object of proposing you to the chair on the last Monday in February, on no better plea on your part than ‘ infirmities.’ What so proper for age and infirmity as an arm-chair ? And what so likely to make a man twenty years younger, as seeing around him hundreds pursuing with a well-regulated ardour and enthusiasm, the most virtuous and most glorious of objects, to which the exertions of his own life have been directed with uniform steadiness, and the universal esteem of good men !

“ Tell me no more of infirmities, when your presence on the revival of our great cause is of the first importance, to disarm the malignant, to encourage the timid, to confirm the doubting, and to unite all descriptions who look to a parliament-

ary reform for the salvation of my country! I *must* propose you.

“ Truly yours,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ Burton-hall, December 24, 1808.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I continue to decline the post of honour at your intended meeting, to which your kind partiality would call me. It is my intention never to accept the station of chairman at any great assembly of the people, such as you describe in glowing colours.

“ You smile at my plea of ‘infirmities’; but I am conscious that mine unfit me for the task of conducting the business of the meeting, and therefore they forbid me to undertake it. But the time may come when Yorkshire may be re-animated with that patriotic zeal which the minister Pitt took so much pains to quench; when under the guidance of such men as Sir William Strickland, Mr. Wrightson, Mr. Fawkes, and above all, of our excellent representative, the friend of Fox and follower of Sir G. Savile, Yorkshire may resume the cause of political reformation, not with a view to destroy, but to preserve and perpetuate the constitution.”

“ I am, &c.

“ CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.”

This correspondence has been introduced as being peculiarly characteristic of these two political veterans; the one, adhering to his purpose with a degree of ardour, which, as we have already had occasion to remark, might almost be denominated pertinacity, while the other, though declining with unaffected modesty the offer of his friend, shews no impatience at the urgency of a correspondent, whose motives he has no difficulty in appreciating.

If, however, such urgency were excusable in any man, it was in Major Cartwright: neither age, sickness, nor infirmity, neither considerations of personal inconvenience, apprehension of difficulty, nor even the certainty of obloquy and ridicule, ever turned him from his purpose; and if he were sometimes a little unreasonable in expecting the same sacrifices from others, we must allow that he never required more from them than he himself was willing to attempt.

An intimate friend once broke forth into the following exclamation, which, though uttered in a moment of jocularitv, is so perfectly just that the writer may be excused for inserting it: "There is nothing in art or nature, nothing in the moral, intellectual, or physical world, that he does not try to mould to his purpose."

" TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" Enfield, December 10, 1808.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I write to request the aid of your name and

presence in the service of liberty, on *the last Monday in February*. On that day the friends to a reform in the representation of the people, will be desired to dine together at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand.

“To understand why, I must inform you that the freeholders of Middlesex intend to hold a county meeting in March; to which end requisitions are already in circulation, and have in their infancy received above 150 names. It is expected they will amount to more than 500 before the dinner-day, on which occasion a large increase may be expected. ..

“Now we think it important to have as many stewards as possible to the dinner, and that they be drawn from all parts of England. Country gentlemen, above all others, we prefer, and we mean to give, as additions, their country residences. I trust you will not only aid us with your name and presence on that day, but will gain us what additional stewards you can. If we could announce a hundred, it would be all the better.

“We know that not only all friends of corruption will say, ‘This is not the time’, but we shall hear the same croaking note from the dead-hearted apathist. But the corruptions and abuses of the state, and the feelings of all who have any feeling, proclaim aloud that *this is the time*. I can add, that this is the decided opinion of Cobbet. But I will leave him to speak for himself.

“With a correspondence on my hands to all

points of the compass, you will readily imagine I have not time to dilate.

“ Let us have your name as a steward, and the sooner the better—when a nucleus is once formed we shall get on well—cast about for additional names, and apply without loss of time.

“ We must not resemble the slow-paced Spaniards, who neglected to bar the door of the Pyrennees in good time.

“ On the 21st of June, in a letter to a Spanish nobleman and patriot I urged the object of getting into the Pyrennees the flower of the Spanish army, together with the English.

“ Pray cheer the heart of our friend in Half-Moon-street* with the information I now communicate; and ask her if young Reynolds, or Lambert, or any of her old friends, can now be brought forward as stewards.

“ I have had, or ouraging letters from Wyvill and Lofft.

“ Yours truly,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

We believe that it has been made sufficiently apparent in the preceding pages, that Major Cartwright's great anxiety was to urge those whom he thought of more consequence than himself in the political world, to come forward upon the public stage, and that, ambitious only of taking the

* Mrs. Jebb, widow of Dr. John Jebb.

trouble, it was almost to him a matter of indifference who might reap the credit.

Except, therefore, some extracts from letters addressed to Mr. Northmore, nothing further will be given of his correspondence during the busy year of 1809, the papers relating to which amount to above four hundred.

Many persons will doubtless exclaim, "can it be wondered at, that the friends of liberty were occasionally wearied and disgusted by such incessant exhortation?" It is not intended to deny the assertion: he *did* weary and disgust those who had less zeal or more prudence than himself; but let them be consoled; the field is open before them; and they are at liberty to take their own better course. His earnest advice—his unceasing persuasions—are now for ever silenced, and when the subject shall again be agitated, their efforts may perhaps be better timed, and their success more certain.

His great object during the early part of this year (1809), was to obtain a number of respectable stewards for a dinner to be given in support of parliamentary reform.

In the progress of his exertions he met, of course, with many refusals; some feared to excite tumult; others complained of the public apathy; many waited to see if such or such persons would come forward; others, though perfectly agreed as to the necessity of the measure, yet could not

bring themselves to believe that this was the time to agitate the question.

“ TO THOMAS^o NORTHMORE, ESQ.

“ Enfield, January 26, 1809.

“ I rejoice to hear that you are to be present at our dinner. As this proposition has not originated with one of our leading political parties, I get from party-men no direct answer. Some keep silence; others say, if I knew with whom I was to act, I would be a steward. This seems to be the meaning of * * * and Mr. * * *. Lord * * * is more explicit; very warm in favour of our object; thanks me for proposing him, but cannot engage to be a steward, without having first ascertained that some of his friends will be there. Now, who are his friends? In the first place Parliamentary Whigs, in the next Whigs in general.

“ Mr. Loftt in Suffolk has given an unqualified assent, and I expect the same from Mr. Clarkson.

“ The subject chosen for your poem is peculiarly rich, and peculiarly interesting to the best feelings of the human heart.

“ Labour hard that your work shall appear this spring, and cherish the patriotism which I hope will once more begin to glow in English bosoms.

“ I know a clergyman who told me he was in possession of a volume of sermons written by an American when Washington was a young man; in which the writer, from a contemplation of his character at that time, prophesied the great figure he

would make, and how much his country would be indebted to him.

“ Unfortunately I was under the necessity of breaking off my acquaintance with him, but I think I know a channel through which it might be procured.

“ Yours, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO THE SAME.

“ 28th January, 1809.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ In the ordinary concerns of this lower world, you poets are exceedingly apt to fly wide of the mark. It is because you are a Devonshire gentleman—Northmore of Clive—that we want your name as a steward; not in Middlesex, but in the metropolis of this kingdom, to bear your testimony in the cause of liberty, and in an attempt to bring into discussion the question of Parliamentary Reform.

“ The meeting is to be of the friends in general of such reform, and the very intention of having stewards from many different counties, is to shew that it is not a Middlesex; but a national feeling; or at least, to give the best expectation we can, so as to prepare all these counties for future co-operation.”

“ 20th March.

“ I have already told you how unqualified I am to give an opinion of a poem. All I can say is,

that I like yours much ; but I should guess that its patriotism alone will go a great way in giving it a dull circulation. • A certain Scotch poet now in vogue, takes care to guard against any suspicions of that kind.

“ Were I capable of composing such a poem, I would publish in America in the first instance*.

“ I fear the modern names are adverse to the purpose of sublimity, and I have some doubts of the possibility of giving the necessary poetical interest and grandeur to an epic of any extent on a subject so much within the reach of memory.

“ But the popularity of the subject, and of the hero on the other side of the Atlantic, would probably make it well received there, and that circumstance might probably operate favourably here. I earnestly wish for the publication; as there is in it so much of excellent principle ; but an intelligent bookseller would be your adviser.”

“ 27th June, 1809.

“ I was in the act of reading your preface to my wife and two other females, when your note of this morning put me in mind that I had not answered your former obliging letter. I hope you will accept as an apology, that I have been incessantly at hard work in the *great* cause.

“ Most ardently do I wish that every labourer in that vineyard may improve the crop, and meet

* Mr. Northmore's “ Washington ” was republished in America by American booksellers.

with that reward of public approbation he deserves; and this because such a species of reward does great good to the cause itself.

“ In some parts the infamous calumnies against Sir Francis Burdett have occasioned a strong prejudice which may possibly, for a time, retard the progress of the cause of Parliamentary Reform, of which he, from his late speech and motion in the House, is of course the leader; but as his speech on the 15th *, on the introduction of the question, has obtained him great praise for moderation and constitutional knowledge, and as the sketch of reform he proposed, is in itself so excellent, I trust the prejudice against him will now vanish as a foul exhalation on the appearance of the sun.

“ If you do not regularly take Cobbett’s Register, you must by all means carry with you, into Devonshire, that of last Saturday, where the Baronet’s speech is given from the notes of a shorthand writer. It must, I think, silence all who suspected him of ill designs against the constitution, especially when they recollect how Bowles

* In this speech Sir Francis Burdett says, “ Let others deal in whimsical speculations, in undefined mysterious notions of a constitution which eludes the grasp, and soars above the conceptions of ordinary minds, let them amuse themselves with intricate theories, and fine-spun metaphysics; I shall hold fast by that plain and substantial constitution adapted to the contemplations of common understandings, to be found in the statute-book, and recognized by the common law of the land.”—*Edinburgh Annual Register*, for 1809, p. 282.

and his other calumniators have proved their loyalty.

"There are two features in the present aspect of our domestic state, from which I augur the happiest effects. Between eighty and ninety counties, and other communities, have voted thanks and addresses to Mr. Wardell, all of which are, of course, condemnations of the House of Commons; but yet in no one instance have they addressed the King to dissolve the Parliament, or to change his ministers.

"When you get into the country, beware of the lure of a triennial parliament. When reform begins to run as a popular object, our pretended friends, but worst enemies, will use all their art and all their sophistry to draw us off from parliaments of constitutional duration, to gain our suffrages in favour of triennial parliaments. The hollow Whigs will threaten, that if you go farther they will oppose. Laugh at their threats, and hold to the truth of the constitution. If we seek unanimity, we must honestly abide by truth and justice. If we quit these to follow the *ignis fatuus* of expediency, we shall seriously divide; and even if we could, by unanimity, carry half measures, it would only be to dupe the public into a deceitful security, while corruption would still have the means left of undermining and destroying us.

"Excuse haste, from yours, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Notwithstanding all the discouragements he had met with in the course of his correspondence, the list of stewards was numerous and respectable. The dinner, which was held on the 1st of May, at the Crown and Anchor, was attended by above twelve hundred persons*; and its proceedings were in every respect gratifying to its zealous promoter. It was one of those few days of unclouded sunshine, which was permitted to illumine the political hemisphere of this champion of reformation†.

One of the committee, Mr. Francis Place, thus acknowledges his services on this occasion :

“ It is with great satisfaction I now congratulate you on the success of your labours, which I know to have been great, and to acknowledge the vast importance of those labours, without which it would have been impossible for such a list of stewards to have been obtained.”

In the year 1809, Lord Selkirk published, with Major Cartwright's permission, a letter which he had addressed to that gentleman, in answer to a request that he would be one of the stewards of the dinner already mentioned. In this letter his

* For an account of this meeting, see *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1809, p. 244.

† He used to relate with great glee, that one of the persons present was a man after his own heart ; for that, after his shoulder had been dislocated in the crowd, in getting into the room, he went to a surgeon to have it set, and then returned to the dinner.

lordship speaks of the friendship which had subsisted between Major Cartwright and his father, as well as his brother, Lord Daer, and expresses the respect he entertained for his character and conduct; but though a friend to parliamentary reform, he argues against the general principles of Major Cartwright's constitutional system, chiefly from what he had witnessed of the effects of extensive representation in America.

Major Cartwright replied to this publication in the *Sunday Review* of the 9th of July, 1809, and it was answered more at length by his old and valued friend, John Pearson, Esq. (now Advocate-General in Calcutta), in a letter to Major Cartwright, entitled "A Review of Lord Selkirk's Objections", &c., and also by the able pen of J. C. Worthington, Esq., in a tract published by Ridgway.

On the 9th of August, a meeting was held at Hackney, on the success of which, and particularly on the favourable manner in which his personal exertions were received, he was warmly congratulated by his friend Mr. Wyvill; "but the pleasure I feel", says that gentleman, "cannot but be mixed with pain and concern at your being so unwell. You are overlaboured in the cause. I wish to hear that you can and will allow yourself rest."

The resolutions at this meeting were moved by Major Cartwright, and seconded by Mr. Hare Townshend, and at the conclusion of the proceedings, thanks were voted to the former for the per-

severance and ability he had shewn in the cause of Parliamentary Reform.

In the month of November he went down to Windsor, in the hope of being able to present to the King, who had just entered the fiftieth year of his reign, a congratulatory address and petition. He was, however, told that none but peers were allowed that privilege. On his pleading that he himself had once before been permitted in person to offer an address to the King, he was further informed, that in consequence of His Majesty's loss of sight, a rule had been laid down, which prevented such a permission from being granted to him.

In consequence of this information he returned to town, and placed the address and petition in the hands of Mr. Ryder, by whom he was assured it should be immediately laid before His Majesty.

The correspondence on this subject will be found in "The Comparison", p. 100 to 104. He published in this year his "Reasons for Reformation", in which he introduced a very remarkable epistle from Lord Stanhope, which he had that nobleman's permission to insert.

He also wrote several papers on reform, which appeared in "Cobbett's Register" for 1809.

At the close of the year he received a letter from a friend, congratulating him on his promotion in the navy : and upon inquiry into the fact, he discovered that his friend had not been misinformed.

On the celebration of the Jubilee, twenty of the senior lieutenants on the list received the rank of master and commander, and the name of John Cartwright being within that number, he was of course included in the promotion. He accordingly paid his respects at Court in the following year, and kissed hands on the occasion.

To this event Mr. Whitbread alludes in the following letter :

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ. .

“ Dover-street, March 21, 1810.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have received the favour of your letter of the 17th instant, for which I beg to return you my best thanks. Esteeming as I do most highly, the indefatigable and disinterested labours of your long life, I cannot but be flattered that you should think me so far worthy of approbation, as to make it worth your while to address me. You may be assured I attend to your suggestions, whether communicated privately or publicly with the utmost respect, and weigh them with the best of my judgment. You may also believe me when I say, that I have no secondary object in view. My motives are as pure as your own ;—of that I am sure. I am not so confident that my conduct is always the wisest, but I am always open to conviction, and am at all times happy to be reasoned with by you. ‘ England’s Ægis ’ I have read with satisfaction and improvement, and I will read it again. Its

intrinsic merit is heightened by the character of its author.

“ I had occasion last night to mention the unlooked-for promotion which was bestowed upon you, and to express my sentiments of esteem for Captain Cartwright.

“ I am, dear Sir, your faithful, obliged,

“ SAMUEL WHITBREAD.”

“ TO S. WHITBREAD, ESQ.

“ Enfield, 25th of March, 1810.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your obliging favour of the 21st afforded great satisfaction in finding that my plain speaking had been taken in good part. It being possible the Statesman newspaper may not fall in your way, I enclosed it for Friday last, as that paper contains a letter on the ‘Foreign Mercenaries’, written with more consideration than I had time for when I wrote to you a few days before. I have transmitted another letter to Lord King.

“ I cannot, Sir, contemplate what relates to our time—that is, an original constitutional militia, as proving the importance of a just *principle* once known and acted upon—without admiration. Such a principle may be neglected for ages and centuries; and yet in the fulness of time be again recognized and confer its benefits on mankind.

“ Although nine centuries have elapsed since frank-pledge was in force; although, through the ignorance and negligence of the Saxon successors

of Alfred, a savage Norman suddenly made himself master of the crown and country of England; although Norman policy and its feudal system long overlaid the Saxon institution; although it gradually sank almost into oblivion, and as soon as standing armies came into vogue, received all possible discountenance—yet, now, that danger is growing extreme, its intrinsic excellence seems likely to restore its credit, as not only the sole, but the cheap defence of the nation; a defence equally sure against the foreign invader of the land, or the domestic invader of our liberties.

“ So inveterate are the prejudices against what it is the fashion to consider obsolete, and so prevalent the shallow sophistry touching the superiority of what are called regular armies over an armed population, that highly respected authorities are necessary for awakening the nation to a consciousness of its own energies independent of the protection of a standing army. Such authorities are wanting to give us a chance of salvation.

“ To a Whitbread and a Burdett, I look for this influence on the public mind. Must I not, then, deplore that two men of spotless public integrity, and both ardently desirous of saving the state, should not be united in one common cause!

“ I have prepared materials towards a recovery of the constitution in both its branches, which I wish particularly to submit to those two men. Those materials are draughts of Acts of Parliament

for at once reforming our elections, and organizing our militia on the Saxon principles.

“ Do you think I can bring together the two men I have named for conferring on such a subject ?

“ Although I have thought it an imperious duty on all occasions to keep alive the distinct question of parliamentary reformation ; yet, for some years past, I have more and more felt persuaded that it will not be practicable to restore our constitution by halves ; but that our constitutional representation and our constitutional militia will and must be recovered together or not at all. When I say together, I do not mean by one individual measure ; but that the necessary light and knowledge on both branches of the constitution must be working together, so that success in the one case shall necessarily lead to success in the other, at no considerable distance of time.

“ Which of these recoveries shall have precedence, must depend upon circumstances, as well as whether both may not be together practicable.

“ When, indeed, we see our situation in its true light, ‘ as a two-fold and admirable system of civil and military polity most happily combined, whereby these two characters, like the faculties of intellectual ability and bodily force in man, are inseparably interwoven, to constitute a complete state, or *free government*’ ; it is but natural to suppose that, as reformers, we cannot understand our busi-

ness unless we take a comprehensive view of our object, make ourselves masters of its nature, and note all the corruptions by which it is oppressed.

“ It is by this knowledge alone we can take advantage of all circumstances as they arise, which shall favour a recovery of our liberties. And if those circumstances shall equally favour reformation in both its kinds, as in my judgment they now eminently do, and are more and more likely to do, it will be seen what great advantages are to be gained by embracing both parts of the system in one general arrangement or set of measures; that is, by making them the subjects of a connected set of statutes; merely separated like chapters in the same book for the sake of perspicuity; the whole together restoring the constitution.

“ It is thus I have gone to work in what I wish to submit to yourself and Sir Francis Burdett.

“ If we aim at a recovery of our liberties, we must kiss the rod of our national chastisement, we must deem the scourge of taxation, and the danger of our subjugation to a foreign conqueror, as the wholesome severities of divine Providence, as those laws of nature by which we may hope our deliverance is to be worked out; nor are we in this view to forget the corruption, the tyranny, and besotted infatuation of those rulers, who have brought themselves into universal contempt both at home and abroad.

“ Motives and means are thus furnished for

arousing the nation ; and rivetting the attention on the necessity and the simple modes of the two-fold reformation of our two-fold polity. This reformation ought to be the sole *text* on which we should preach. All abuses, all corruptions, all violations of our rights, are but so many arguments and illustrations for proving and enforcing the *necessity of the reformation*. They ought to be made use of as mere means to the grand end ; the end itself never being for one moment lost sight of ; but above all things it ought to be made manifest, that the contention is for the rights, property and liberty of the nation, and not for personal power and aggrandizement. With the greatest respect,

“ I remain, dear Sir,

“ Yours truly,

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“ TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

“ Dover Street, May 15, 1810.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have just received your letter, and shall be very glad to obey your commands in offering your petition a second time amended as you propose. The expressions objected to were ‘ that such things are past endurance’, and ‘ upon the illegality of such proceedings, it is presumed, no man can doubt.’ These expressions were the ground on which Mr. Perceval and Mr. Ryder objected to the petition. Mr. Bathurst said it was an expostulation and not a

petition, and therefore ought not to be received ; but this was an after-thought, and not stated until after the gallery was cleared.

“ I am, dear Sir, &c.

“ S. WHITBREAD.”

“ TO S. WHITBREAD, ESQ.

“ 22d May, 1810.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ With many thanks for your obliging letter of the 15th, I now send you a new petition.

“ So far as my own sentiments are concerned, I should have no objection to part with the words ‘ beyond endurance ’, if I could substitute for them ‘ that such treatment of the people can only produce reiterated petitions, and never-ceasing exertions, until that decision shall be reversed.’

“ But as I incline to suppose that new objections would be started, it seems the best to justify my original language, and take the chance of consequences ; as the petition in question extends the prior discussion on a material point.

“ This consideration leads me to observe, that if the newspapers were faithful reporters, you supposed I might have for a motive to petition, an ambition to have my opinions recorded in the journals. How far I may be influenced by any such motive, I know not ; I hope very little indeed ; for it were a motive I could in any other person very little respect.

“ My real motives I believe to be a sense of public duty, and a desire to promote discussion ;

for discussion in every way, in every place, on every occasion, and in every mode that can be devised, appears to me of vital importance.

“ I might say much of the advantages to the public cause, when even private individuals, by their appeals to a degenerate House of Parliament, can expose the weakness of its plea for resisting reformation, but neither you nor I have time to spare. With much regard and esteem,

“ I remain, &c.

“ JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

The correspondence between Mr. Whitbread, and the subject of these memoirs, a correspondence truly honorable to both, did not terminate till some years after this period ; but the writer cannot help observing in this place, that when the mind of this upright statesman sank at length beneath the pressure of anxiety and indisposition, few lamented his untimely end more sincerely than Major Cartwright, who always considered him as actuated, in his public conduct, by purer motives than almost any other party politician of the day.

Mr. Clarkson has borne a strong testimony in favour of Mr. Whitbread, in his “ History of the Slave Trade.” Speaking of the persecutions of witnesses who came forward in the cause of the abolition of the slave-trade, he says—“ The late Mr. Whitbread, to whom one day, in deep affliction on this account, I related accidentally a circumstance of this kind, generously undertook, in order

to make my mind easy on the subject, to make good all injuries which should in future arise to individuals from such persecution; and he repaired these, at different times at a considerable expense. I feel it a duty to divulge this circumstance, out of respect to the memory of one of the best of men, and of one, whom if his life were written, it would appear to have been an extraordinary honour to the country to have produced." Vol. II. p. 471.

In the month of April, 1810, Major Cartwright presented, through Lord Moira, (now Marquis of Hastings,) an address and petition to the Prince Regent, similar to that which he had before offered to the King.

On the 26th of the same month, a numerous and respectable meeting was held at Hackney, where a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Francis Burdett,—“for his unanswered and unanswerable arguments in vindicating the rights of the subject; denying the power of the House to imprison the people of England; for his Letter to the Speaker, protesting against the power claimed by the House of Commons to imprison its members; and for his constitutional resistance to the Speaker’s warrant.”

It appears from Mr. Cobbett’s “Register”, that the Address voted to Sir Francis Burdett on this occasion, was written by Major Cartwright—“by a man”, says that powerful writer, “having a mind which it is impossible to bewilder, and a heart of such integrity that nothing can shake.”

In this year was written “The Comparison; in

which are considered Mock Reform, Half Reform, and Constitutional Reform”: of which work Mr. Wyvill says—“It is written with your usual ability, but it appears to me that Lord Grey is handled with too much severity.” In sending this work to the Honourable T. Brand, (now Lord Dacre,) Major Cartwright thus writes on the 15th of October :—

“DEAR SIR,

“In a few days you will receive a copy of ‘The Comparison’, which I hope you will do me the honor to accept. You will find me an antagonist, but I hope a fair one. Our object being the same, and the most important on this side the grave, our sole contention ought to be, how to ascertain the true principle, and the right line of conduct in which, and by which our object is to be obtained. “

“I incline to hope that I have proved that there is a radical error in the notions of our moderate reformers, and that I have also placed the wickedness and treachery of our mock reformers in a true light. If in these particulars I have succeeded, it will have a natural tendency to promote unanimity among all real reformers.

“Should you detect any fallacy in my reasonings, or any error in my conclusions, the communication of your observations will greatly oblige,

“Dear Sir,

“Yours, with much respect,

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

In August, 1810, he sold his house at Enfield, and removed to No. 17, James Street, Buckingham Gate, that he might, as he expressed it, "be nearer his work". He was, at the time of this removal, in his 71st year, and having, by care and temperance, almost overcome the feverish complaints to which he had been for many years subject *, and which originated, as has been already stated, in the fatigues he underwent during his naval services, he was enabled to pursue his political avocations with unabated energy.

He never rose later than six o'clock, either winter or summer, and frequently got up much sooner, and lighted his own fire. At eight a cup of coffee or of chocolate was brought him, and at twelve he breakfasted. The rest of the day, except during his occasional walk, which he took without any regard to weather, he was employed in writing or conversing with those who called upon him; and as he never denied himself to any person whatever, it may be easily believed that he had nume-

* Neither he nor his medical advisers ever anticipated his living to so advanced an age, and he was wont to relate with much humour, an anecdote of an apothecary, who, on feeling his pulse, told him with an ominous shake of the head, that "the vital principle was very feeble in his frame." He lived, however, long enough to prove the fallacy of this, and many other prognostics of a like nature; and when on his death bed, he more than once expressed his surprise, that "at eighty-four years of age he should still have so much strength left, and should find it so hard to die."

In a letter to Admiral Vandeput, in the year 1795, he says, "I am an old man at fifty-five, and can hardly bear the fatigue of riding round my farm."

rous visits, besides those of friendship, from persons requiring advice or assistance. "How you satisfy all the claims upon your time," says his worthy friend, Mr. Dickenson, in a letter dated 7th October, 1816, "I never could comprehend; for you seem to be as much at leisure in the midst of these embargoes, and as much at the service of your friends, either in the way of correspondence or colloquy, as if you had nothing else to do."

Of all men on earth he was the most accessible; no introduction or recommendation was necessary for those who wished to consult him either on public or private business; and though on some occasions this unguardedness was productive of inconvenience, it enabled him to be of essential service to many distressed and deserving individuals: nor were his exertions limited to any party; for where he could benefit or oblige a fellow-creature, no difference in opinion could even for a moment repel the impulse of his generous nature.

As, however, accident alone divulged to his family his frequent acts of benevolence, the same delicacy which prompted his reserve on these subjects, ought, of course, to actuate his biographer.

His punctuality in answering letters, and attending to the business entrusted to him by others, was, indeed, truly remarkable; and it is justly observed by Mr. Cobbett, in his Register, Vol. xxxiii. p. 100, "that he answered with the punctuality of a counting-house, a hundred letters in a week, by way of episode to his other labours."

The chief relaxation which he could be said to

allow himself, was an occasional game at backgammon before he retired for the night, which he sometimes found necessary to divert his mind from those deeper thoughts which would otherwise have interfered with his nightly repose. This practice, however, he latterly relinquished, and seemed to prefer the social conversation of his family, and of the little circle of friends which generally met every evening beneath his cheerful and hospitable roof.

Nothing gave him more pleasure than to witness the innocent sports and amusements of his young relations, who were frequent guests in his house; and he would sometimes leave his own serious avocations, to promote their gaiety by his own example; saying, that, like the Vicar of Wakefield, the greatest treat he could enjoy was the sight of happy human faces. These feelings towards youth were reciprocal; for even very young children seemed to feel towards him an instinctive partiality.

He was, however, indebted solely to the kindness of his manner for the affection he inspired; for he was, upon principle, very sparing of presents to young persons; and it was a maxim of his, that “it was a species of immorality, to employ *bribery*, and *corruption* even to a child.”

Though at the risk of disobeying the injunction of her uncle (already referred to), the writer cannot resist mentioning one instance among many which are present to her recollection, and of which she has been reminded by others. Mr. North-

more says, in his *Education upon Principles*, p. 1, that "Scipio gathered pebbles on the sea-shore, and Agesilaus rode on the hobby horse of his children"; but Major Cartwright, in making himself the horse which was to be ridden, carried his condescension still farther. His first introduction to the mother of Sir Richard Strachan, was somewhat remarkable. Finding himself alone with the children of the family, he was asked if he could play at *bears*; and having signified his willingness to be instructed in the game, he was desired to go upon all-fours, that his young companions might ride upon his back. While traversing the room in this attitude, the lady of the house entered; and, it may be conjectured, that she could never after consider him in the light of a stranger. As the same willingness to oblige his numerous young friends, by a participation of their pleasures, never quitted him to the last period of his existence, to multiply such instances would be an endless task. A letter addressed to the writer when at school, is a convincing proof of the manner in which he mingled advice and encouragement.

" Brothertoft Farm, 1796.

" MY DEAR CHILD,

" I have been long in answering your letter; but nevertheless I had much satisfaction in receiving it, as we think you improve in your writing, and every fresh letter is written better than the former.

" You seem to pass your time very pleasantly, and we think Mrs. ——'s plan of granting

marks of distinction very judicious; it not only promotes good conduct, but must add much to the pleasure of doing right. I must observe to you, that too many persons, old as well as young, make a great mistake about that something called pleasure, and impose upon themselves, in supposing that whatever produces repentance deserves that name. They, too, are bad economists of happiness who take pleasure which is to be mixed with pain of any kind; for to be really satisfactory, it must at the same time be laudable, or at least perfectly blameless.

“ Botanists have no way of explaining what is meant by a weed, but by saying that it is a plant in a wrong place; and the weeds of conduct and conversation are commonly no other than words done or spoken in a wrong place, or at a wrong time. On the contrary, to employ the time present with propriety, whether it be in study, or working, or playing, may be compared to the cultivation of right plants. It is both pleasant and profitable.

“ When you are satisfied in your own mind that the way to enjoy pleasure is to do, at any time and in any place, that which is then and there most proper and becoming, you will be half a philosopher; and when you have practised such conduct till it becomes habitual, or, as some term it, a second nature, you will be as happy as an angel, although you should continue, at suitable times, to be as playful as a kitten.

“ Poor Rascal*! we have been all in great affliction for him. If the remembrance of his gambols, of his high blood, his swiftness, sweet temper, faithful services, and agreeable qualities, should inspire you, you may take upon yourself the office of composing his epitaph. Perhaps you have not taken up the fashion of writing an account of every place you see in your travels, or I might expect to hear your description of Richmond-Hill, and whether you think it so picturesque as Brothertoft Farm. James the postilion is surprised that any one should think Well-Vale as beautiful as this place; nor can I imagine that he could allow Richmond-Hill to vie with it.

“ On the subject of your visiting, your aunt and I are particularly happy that your father agrees with us in thinking it should be used with moderation. When my child is become quite a philosopher, and knows how to turn all she sees and hears to good account, it may not be without its uses; but as the great object of your present situation is to be under the care of a lady who has talent for instructing and for fixing in her pupils habits of application, great care should be taken not to defeat that object. At the same time, a moderate share of amusement will make you return to your studies with a fresh relish; and I leave it to Mrs.

* A favourite pony of Major Cartwright's, whose lively spirit formed a striking contrast with the composed demeanour of his rider, who, while the animal was frisking and curveting, sat as unmoved as when meditating in his arm-chair.

———'s judgment to proportion your amusements to your application.

“ If you could see our present circle, you would think we all meant to be great students, particularly the younger part of the family: Your sister Mary you know is voracious of a book, and Eliza, though a merry girl, devours folios of history with much more appetite than her meals; except when we have Bantam eggs, then indeed she is like a conjuror swallowing his balls.

“ Your little friend Bellisle has just given us a calf, and your aunt has now a set of beautiful cows, and plenty of them, with every convenience for butter and cheese, except a dairy-maid; I am therefore obliged to give the milk to my calves and lambs and young pigs. Fine times for them! • •

“ While your father is here we are very busy in making machines of his invention, such as ploughs, reapers, straw-cutters, &c., and I have the agreeable Mr. Obbins building more cow-houses and barns; so that when all these things are accomplished, and we have got a dairy and a dairy-maid,—we shall then be busy contriving and executing something else.

“ Our society of seven all join in love, &c., with

“ Your affectionate uncle.” •

On the last day of 1810, he presented to the House a petition on the subject of the Regency, in which he recommends that the Prince should be associated with his father in the throne, in the

same manner as William and Mary. So that should the King recover from his unfortunate malady, he might be saved from future care and anxiety, by the assistance and co-operation of his son.

During this year ten thousand pounds were granted by Parliament to Dr. Cartwright, to indemnify him for the losses he had sustained in bringing to perfection those inventions by which the country had been so materially benefited.

Upon this occasion Dr. Cartwright's friends were of course anxious to obtain the attendance of members, and the reader may perhaps feel a curiosity to know what was the conduct of Major Cartwright in a case in which of course he must have been peculiarly interested, as it related to a brother to whom he was so much attached, whose talents he so admired, and for whom he had unrepiningly sacrificed a large part of his fortune. Being of opinion that Government is not bound to indemnify individuals for losses sustained in private speculations, he did not even apply to the members of Parliament with whom he was acquainted, for their attendance on the occasion*.

Many years afterwards, when consulted by a friend to whom he was much attached, who had hopes of an indemnification of the same kind, he

* The writer's brother when applied to for a confirmation of this remarkable fact, says, "Your statement agrees entirely with my recollection. Our good uncle's inflexibility on this subject vexed some of my father's friends more than it surprised *me*."

said with his usual frankness, “ My good friend, I cannot wish you success : you began your enterprise to enrich yourself, and the public has nothing to do with your failure ” ; but thinking he perceived some uneasiness in the countenance of his friend, he continued, “ I do not say this from any indifference to your welfare, for which I am sincerely interested, but as a general principle.”

The same general principle induced him to think that the nation had no concern with the injuries which merchants and travellers sustained in foreign countries. “ Whoever ”, said he, “ for his pleasure or convenience ventures into the power of despotism, does it at his own peril, and must abide by the consequence. If the Government of his native country can by remonstrance interfere in his behalf, it is well ; but a nation must not be involved in war or difficulty for the sake of one too venturesome individual.”

END OF VOLUME I.

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